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ABSTRACT

This extensive survey pretest utilized in-depth interviews with school superintendents and city managers in selected cities throughout Oregon and in Los Angeles. The purpose of the pilot study was to explore the similarities and differences in conflict management between the two professions. The study reveals that superintendents and city managers spend a substantial portion of their time managing conflict. The roles of both administrators have become more politicized, although superintendents have historically been more concerned with intraorganizational conflict requiring technical skills. Although the small sample of this pilot study prevents reliable generalizations, in-depth analyses of one representative superintendent and one representative city manager suggest that superintendents are less effective in managing conflict than city managers. Differences in environmental conditions, formal education, inservice training, administrative structure, service delivery potential, and service provision effectiveness all contribute to this situation. A bibliography, interview schedules, and copies of the questionnaires are appended. (Author/WD)

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FINAL REPORT FOR THE PILOT STUDY ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

1980

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I. Theoretical Overview

Introduction

Both educational and municipal structures of governance have been shaped by the forces of reform in local government of the early part of this century, and school and municipal decision-makers today have many issues, problems, and constraints in common. Just as the council-manager form of government is often identified as one of the goals of municipal reform so was the modern school superintendency a product of educational reform (Banfield and Wilson, 1966; Boynton, 1976; Dye, 1973). Municipal and school district reforms were guided by the same tripartite ideology:

1. A belief in the "public interest" which should prevail over competing, partial interests. This belief was reflected in slogans such as "There is no Republican or Democrat way to pave a street." In the educational field the slogan was "There is no Republican or Democrat way to school a child."

2. Since reasonable men can agree on the public interest, government is really an administrative and technical problem rather than a political one. Politics is the art of decision-making appropriate when there is disagreement concerning goals. Since municipal and educational governance issues are amenable to consensus decision-making by "reasonable" people both politics and "unreasonable" people should be barred from the decision-making process.

3. The best qualified people should decide on policy and then leave a separate activity administration to professional experts. Institutional arrangements should guarantee both the selection of best qualified men to positions of lay leadership and the provision of a corps of professional experts to shoulder the burden of administration.

The common ideology gave rise to common institutional arrangements of school district and council-manager municipal government. Six key

structural changes were sought and largely achieved:

1. Bypassing party machinery in nominations and elections. Nonpartisan selection of legislators, recall of legislators, and direct citizen participation through referenda and other plebiscites were the prime structural changes.

2. Reduction of elective offices to simplify the voters' task (the "short ballot") and to focus responsibility on a small number of top elected officials.

3. Replacement of ward-based elections with at-large elections to insure elected officials would consider the welfare of the entire governmental unit and not merely his own neighborhood or "ward."

4. Longer, overlapping terms for legislators to insure continuing expertise and proper socialization of newcomers.

5. Separation of local politics by holding elections at times when there are no federal or state elections.

6. Replacment of patronage appointment and promotion of employees by a merit system of civil service.

Of course, not all school districts and all council-manager municipal governments have all of these institutional structures. However, these institutional structures characterize the overwhelming majority of local school districts (Zeigler, Jennings, and Peak, 1974; Zeigler and Tucker, 1977). Moreover, these institutional structures are strongly associated with the council-manager form of municipal government -- more so than any other form of municipal government.

A brief review of data on school district and council-manager institutions will serve to document how similar these two forms of local government are. As Table 1 indicates, the council-manager form of local government has grown over the past thirty years to become the plurality form of government in cities of five thousand of more in population.

Table 1. Form of City Government in Cities of 5,000 or More (in percentages)

	Mayor-Council	Council-Manager	Commission	Town Meeting	Representative Town Meeting	Sample Size
1951	55.0	26.1	15.3	2.5	1.1	2,525
1953	52.7	28.9	14.7	2.6	1.1	2,527
1957	49.4	34.6	12.5	2.3	1.2	2,559
1959	48.3	36.3	12.1	2.0	1.2	2,562
1963	52.3	38.6	8.1	0.4	0.6	3,044
1967	48.6	41.2	6.1	2.9	1.2	3,113
1971	44.0	47.3	5.9	1.8	1.1	1,875
1974	46.0	47.0	3.0	*	*	6,254

*Breakdown not available
Source: The Municipal Year Book, 1952, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1976. (Washington, D.C.: International City Management Association)

Table 1 also indicates that the council-manager form has been growing at the expense of both the mayor-council and commission forms, and that the council-manager and mayor-council forms account for 93 percent of city governments.

The reform structural goal of nonpartisan selection of lay legislators has been achieved in both school districts and council-manager municipalities. Approximately 25 percent of all school districts select board members by partisan election (Zeigler, Jennings, and Peak, 1974). As Table 2 indicates, council-manager cities have the

lowest rate of partisan elections. Less than 13 percent of council-manager municipalities allow partisan electoral competition.

Table 2. Cities with Partisan Affiliation on General Election Ballots (in percentages)

	All	Mayor-Council	Council-Manager	Commission	Town Meeting	Representative Town Meeting
1951	40.6	54.7	15.4	33.3	48.9	20.8
1953	39.8	54.6	15.6	34.3	52.0	25.0
1957	39.0	56.0	15.0	37.0	49.0	20.0
1959	39.0	56.0	16.0	39.0	55.0	23.0
1963	36.0	51.0	16.0	37.0	46.0	24.0
1967	35.1	50.8	17.7	30.5	43.5	39.3
1974	24.5	35.8	12.8	17.4	41.2	24.3

Source: The Municipal Year Book, 1952, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1976. (Washington, D.C.: International City Management Association)

Ward-based election of legislative officials has been curtailed in both school districts and municipal governments. About 73 percent of school districts have pure, at-large elections (Zeigler, Jennings, and Peak, 1974). Of the forty-nine largest cities surveyed by the National School Boards Association, 82 percent of school districts which elect board members do so on an at-large basis (National School Board Associa-

tion, 1975). Three-fourths of council-managers have elected city council members on an at-large basis consistently over the last quarter century.

Despite a common origin, when educational and municipal administrators are confronted with conflict and with the task of managing conflict; they are sufficiently unalike in their personal and professional resources and administrative positions to suggest the logic and utility of comparative research for understanding the conflict management behavior of local administrators.

The utility of the comparison, while intellectually apparent, is given credence by the results of our pilot study. City managers expressed an interest in learning from the comparison. The fact that approximately two-thirds of city managers and superintendents in the same localities meet together informally and that thirty percent meet routinely to discuss mutual concerns demonstrates that many city managers and superintendents feel that they would benefit from comparative analysis.

Some research has been done on the role of conflict management behavior for city managers in municipal governance (Eyestone, 1971; Loveridge, 1971; Stillman, 1974). But conflict as an area of inquiry is still novel to educational research. Salisbury, in his recent study of citizen participation in education (1980), notes his surprise at the recurrence of conflict throughout the course of his interviews. Salisbury's conclusions are highly revealing:

> School activists dislike conflict. They are uneasy about political parties because, in part at least, partisan involvement implies directly competitive struggle. They are uneasy about

> changes within their communities or in their school program, in part it seems, because change presents the possibility of disagreement. They are, with some exceptions, uneasy in the presence of heterogeneity, of race or class, because this too means potential conflict over what values ought to prevail....Our data are not remotely sufficient to explore thoroughly this issue, but the matter of American attitudes toward political and social conflict is thoroughly deserving of a prominent place in the research agenda (Salisbury, 1980, p. 198-199).

Comparative analysis would have eased Salisbury's concern; we give conflict "a prominent place in the research agenda."

Traditional Views of Conflict

While managers in municipal governance have always operated in a traditional political context, such conditions have been considered to be the exception for school managers. However, the turbulance of the 1960s certainly seemed to have affected the conditions of education and contributed to a politicization of education. Popular accounts of highly publicized conflicts portrayed professionals as struggling vainly against a variety of powerful interest groups. Professionals themselves were active in promulgating the view of the "beleaguered superintendent" (William Boyd, 1975, p. 7). One observer quoted from the ranks of the beleaguered to support his contention that the world of the superintendent, as seen from the inside, is far more conflictual than the world as described by students of educational policy-making:

> The American school superintendent, long the benevolent ruler whose word was law, has become a harried, embattled figure of waning authority...brow beaten by once subservient boards of education, (teachers' associations), and parents, the superintendent can hardly be blamed if he feels he has lost control of his destiny....Administrative powerlessness is becoming one of the most pervasive realities of organizational life (Gene I. Maeroff, 1974, p. 1, and Donald A. Erickson, 1972, pp. 3-4).

While some might be inclined to dismiss such testimony as self-serving, the view has been to some extent echoed by scholars who argue that that model of professional dominance is no longer correct. Representative of this argument is McCarty and Ramsey's The School Managers (1971). This study of 51 school districts in the northeast and midwest led them to conclude:

> One can hardly avoid the view that today's educational administrator is engulfed in a pressure packed set of constraints...individuals previously without power are rapidly becoming aware of the strength that can be marshalled if they work together...the tensions so apparent throughout American society have galvanized (school) boards into the political arena with a vengeance (Donald J. McCarty and Charles E. Ramsey, 1971, pp. 153, 211, and 213).

The upshot of this controversy has been a renewed interest in the question "Are schools really that conflictual?" This new interest is shared by practitioners and scholars in educational administration, political science, sociology, and other social sciences. Social scientists who see a technological revolution as changing the basis of governmental decision-making are interested in exploring the technological decision-making model so well established in the educational policy literature. Simultaneously, students and practitioners of educational administration who see increasing politicization of educational governance are interested in exploring topics such as popular participation and conflict resolution under the democratic decision-making model (William Boyd, 1976, pp. 539-577). There was also a growing concern that educational policy researchers should make greater use of research techniques employed by other social scientists. Proponents of both the democratic and technological models of educational decision-making

had relied almost exlusively on the case study approach. Their studies typically examined a small, unrepresentative sample of school districts and focused on major decisions in those districts. Consequently, they were not replicable and their findings were not generalizable. A study based on a large sample, systematically selected, which takes a comparative view of the decision-making process, is a desirable complement to the growing literature subsumed under the rubric "Politics of Education."

How do we resolve the apparent contradiction between research findings that show professional administrators dominating the processes of educational policy making with the assertion of "schoolmen themselves or observers sympathetic to them that they have lost control of the governing of schools?" (Boyd, 1975).

We suggest that the resolution to the problem lies in greater understanding of educational policy-making under conditions of conflict in which the technological model of decision-making is most often challenged as inappropriate, in which the democratic model has a chance to operate, and which seems to be particularly trying for school administrators. The major purpose of this research program is to further understandings of conflict management in educational governance.

Contrary to the professional maxim that superintendents should not engage in politics, superintendents are political actors with political powers. As in other units of government, school district governance involves conflict. For many superintendents, political conflict presents a crucial paradox: when conflict occurs the technical skills so diligently developed not only are of no value, they are a

liability. Trained in the tenets of an ideology that defines conflict as pathological and consensus as the most legitimate basis of a decision, superintendents may find conflict more painful than other executive officers. A defensive, hostile response to criticism may then generate more intense conflict. Thus, superintendents with doctorate degrees (the most ideologically committed) and little on-the-job experience (which mediates the negative influence of education) may be less skillful in managing conflict (Crain, 1968, pp. 115-124; Boss, Zeigler, Tucker, Wilson, 1976). Contrary to popular beliefs, most superintendents do not have doctorates -- nationally, only 29 percent do. In the 51 largest districts, 75% have doctorates; in California, our pretest revealed 75% with doctorates. Our earlier study (Boss, Zeigler, Tucker, Wilson, 1976) showed that those with doctorates were less successful in managing conflict than those without this advanced degree. Our current pretest verifies those findings. Also, as managers are less educated, they appear as a group to be more tolerant of conflict than do superintendents.

This problem is especially acute under conditions of episodic, non-routinized conflict. Episodic conflict reduces the effectiveness of the basic resources of the manager. The basic resource of superintendents, expertise, is not accepted as negotiable. Because superintendents rely on expertise rather than more traditional political skills, the power base of the superintendent is destroyed when this resource is declared inapplicable. It is no surprise that issues of episodic conflict (such as busing and school closures made necessary by declining

enrollments) which cannot be solved by technical skills are troublesome to superintendents. As American schools move from an era of expanding resources to one of scarce resources, the essentially political issue of resource distribution will become dominant. School boards will continue to turn to superintendents for recommendations. Superintendents must use both their political and technical resources as the task of conflict management becomes more prominent in school district governance.

Systematic research should not focus exclusively on those instances in which the technological mode of decision-making is inappropriate (i.e., examples of non-routine, or episodic, conflict). However, such instances are important beyond their numbers; they provide opportunities for the democratic mode of decision-making. Peterson, Boyd, Zald, and others have suggested this possibility. As Zald explains: "It is during the handling of major phase problems, or strategic decision points, that board power is most likely to be asserted. It is at such times, too, that basic conflicts and diversions both with the board and between the managers and the board are likely to be pronounced" (Boyd, p. 107). Boyd argues that such occasions concern, for example, finance and expansion, school consolidation, and the selection of new superintendents (p. 121). However, the evidence is far from clear. Our own research indicates that there is more involved than the substance of the issue, a point which we will develop in a later section of this report.

The Focus on Conflict

Conflict has been the source of conceptual confusion for decades (Fink, 1968). We have sifted through definitions ranging from the most basic to the most complex. Thus, introductory texts in political science simply define conflict as "situations in which one individual wishes to follow a line of action that would make it difficult or impossible for someone else to pursue his own desires" (Dahl, 1966). Such texts also assume the necessity, indeed the desireability, of conflict: "...conflict is not an unfortunate and temporary aberration from the norm..." (Ranney, 1966, p. 7-8). More sophisticated conceptual schemes, such as proposed by Schmidt and Kochan (1972), include not only goal incompatibility but also a variety of other preconditions. That is, they agree that incompatibility of goals is a necessary but not sufficient definition of conflict.

We start with a generally accepted definition: Conflict is a situation in which two or more parties perceive that their goals are incompatible.

Obviously, conflict in schools or in any organization is common (Nebgen, 1978). However, perceived incompatibility of goals may not lead to behavior normally regarded as conflictual. One school of thought -- derived initially from the early work of Ross (1930) and Simmel (1955) -- argues that incompatible goals may lead to either conflict or competition. The analogy is between a race and a fight. In a race, one does nothing to obstruct the efforts of one's opponents, whereas in a fight one does. The distinction is made now largely by

specialists in industrial relations such as Walton and McKersie, but seems essential.

Thus, our definition expands to include: (a) mutually perceived incompatible goals, and (b) perceived opportunity for interference (Seiler, 1963). Stated in terms of traditional political science, conflict consists of situations in which persons with perceived mutually incompatible goals simultaneously perceive an opportunity to achieve these goals (at least partially) by blocking the goals of others. This additional component is a refinement of our earlier distinctions between active and passive conflict (July 17, 1978, p. 76). However, we wished to strengthen this component because it is helpful in sharpening our understanding of management behavior.

Our next task, having provided a definition capable of being operationalized (by adding an active component), is to specify the dimensions of conflict. The literature traditionally, following Sorokin (1928), approaches this task by identifying the nature of the antagonistic unity. Our review of the literature reveals dozens of schemes, each with a domain of social science attached to it. At the extreme, one encounters works like those of Chase (1951), which classifies parties of conflicts from personal to international. While such efforts admittedly are tedious, they should not be overlooked as each has attracted the attention of various teams of social scientists. Thus, personal quarrels attract the attention of small group psychologists while conflicts between nation-states interest students of international relations.

Clearly we can eliminate many types of conflict which administrators may encounter. Any private conflicts, for example, are not of our concern. (Of course, one can always argue that a manager's private conflicts affect his/her public behavior, but we suspect that the theory here is too murky. See Rogow and Lasswell, 1963.) Our analysis of the literature, including here the work of Mack and Snyder (1957), Levine (1951), Dahrendorf (1961), Angell (1965), Boulding (1962), and Galtung (1965) leads us to the conclusion that our purposes are best served by reduction and simplication.

Bailey (1971) provides a beginning. He identifies three types of conflict situations: subordinate conflict (between an administrator and a person or group over which he/she has authority or responsibility); superordinate conflict (between the administrator and a person or group which has authority over him/her); and lateral conflict (between the administrator and a person or group with which he/she has equal authority).

The advantages of this typology of conflict situations are manifest in the ambiguities it suggests, as well as its simplicity. Conflict may develop because neither party agrees to the definitions of the authority relationship. Loveridge (1971), for example, finds fundamental conflict between councilmen and managers in their perceptions of the manager's role in policy-making. Our research on boards and superintendents similarly suggests that, in some situations, the conflict involves less the substance of a dispute than an appropriate definition of the role of each

actor vis-a-vis the other. Gross, Mason, and McEachern's study of school boards in Massachusetts (1958) provided some of the theories leading to Governing American Schools (1972). Gross et al worked directly on the notion of board-superintendent conflict by using an item to measure degree of "professionalism." Their item was phrased (response terms of agreeing or disagreeing) "in deciding issues the board members vote as representatives of important blocs or segments." The model superintendent response was "absolutely must not." Our question, based both upon Gross et al and upon theories of representation, was "Do you ever feel any conflict between your responsibility to the public and to the school administration?" The majority of board members did not, but in cases of conflict our analysis reavealed that the dispute was indeed as much over appropriate roles as over substantive issues. In Bailey's terms, the disputes involved conflict over whether board-superintendent relations were subordinate, superordinate, or lateral.

Bailey's typology, in addition to offering the idea that conflicts may be about appropriate roles, offers the additional advantage of clarification of research domains.

Subordinate conflict -- that involving an administrator and those over whom he/she has authority or responsibility -- is normally the domain of public administration, industrial relations, and related disciplines. Most literature on management (whether public or private) is concerned with managing disturbances within the organization, where a hierarchy of authority is normally established. Clearly, management

is concerned about subordinate conflicts because the collective goals of the organization are disrupted if subordinate conflict is poorly treated. Hence, the literature quite naturally treats conflict as a destructive force.

Such terms as "a breakdown in standard mechanism of decision-making" (March and Simon,1958) and "a threat to cooperation" (Marek, 1966) are illustrative of this understandable assumption.

Our concern is not, of course, with subordinate disputes as such. However, our interest in them is substantive for a number of reasons: (1) Unresolved subordinate disputes may result in a broadening of conflict to either superordinate or lateral. Mintzberg's (1973) description of the "disturbance handler" role is representative of the management literature not only in its dysfunctional characterization ("disturbance occurs, a correction is necessary"), but also in that it does not address the possibility that the disturbance may expand even though it is apparent that the probability exists. For example, principals who feel they have been improperly managed may seek legal redress by imposing authority upon the superintendent from a superordinate source (courts); teachers who cannot resolve a dispute may withhold their services, involving the support or opposition of community organizations which have lateral authority relations with school managers.

An additional reason for our concern with subordinate conflicts is the assumption, again from Mintzberg, that managers spend a good portion of their time reacting to disturbance situations. If so, then several research opportunities exist. At the simple descriptive level, what

kinds of conflict are most prevalent and most costly? On the one hand, management texts (and management research, generally) are devoted to the handling of intra-organizational disturbances. On the other hand, school managers, as we have reported elsewhere, argue that they are "administratively powerless" because boards of education, teachers' organizations, parents, and other community groups are becoming more active. As we have noted, along with Boyd and with Zald, such events (if the challenge of authority is by a lateral group) may occur only infrequently but with major impact. Intra-organizational disputes may occur frequently but with minor impact if they are contained. Again, we note with modest linguistic change, the distinction between episodic and routine conflict. We add the idea that intra-organizational disputes are more easily routinized.

As so much of the literature is concerned with the management of intra-organizational conflict, we raise here the possibility that managers adept at handling intra-organizational disturbances may be inept at resolving lateral conflicts. Management techniques may vary with the type of conflict (Nebgen, 1978). A reasonable hypothesis (to be developed below) is that training managers in subordinate conflicts may inhibit their ability to handle lateral conflicts. Such an idea was suggested by Crain (1968) in discussing the response of superintendents to demands for school desegregation: "interaction between civil rights leaders and school superintendents has the preconditions for conflict."

The literature of political science is substantially more directed

toward lateral and superordinate conflict. Easton, whose early work has directly or indirectly influenced most empirical and theoretical work, clearly distinguishes between studies of organizations and studies of "the authoritative allocations of values." His argument is that political scientists should study policies which, broadly speaking, involve the "whole society." Hence, "political science is not interested in the power relations of a gang or a family or a church group simply because in them one man or group contests the actions of another" (Easton, 1958, p. 123). Easton's argument is not, of course, that one should exclude non-public activity; rather he is suggesting that the purpose of inquiry should be addressed to behavior about public policy.

It is normal, therefore, for political scientists to be more concerned with conflict which engages the attention of broader publics than about intra-organizational disputes (keeping in mind the caveat that the lines are frequently blurred). As Dye and Hawkins explain, "Metropolitan government is too often treated as a problem in administration rather than a problem in the resolution of conflict" (1967, p. 1). According to these authors, and to others such as Banfield and Wilson (1963), "the management of conflict in society is one of the basic purposes of government."

The degree to which political scientists focus on societal or community conflict goes beyond Easton. Indeed, the founding fathers, especially Madison, believed that regulating conflict among people with diverse interests was the principal task of government. Madison, of

course, was borrowing directly from Hobbes, who argued that totally unregulated conflict was incompatible with community life. Hobbes, Madison, Easton, all argue in diverse ways that the principle business of government is the management of societal conflicts.

However, the scope of conflict did not become focused upon the community (that is, the local community, as distinguished from larger units) until James Coleman's seminal Community Conflict (1957). Using fluoridation disputes as examples of conflict-laden public policies, Coleman developed an overarching theory of the conditions for community conflict: (1) the event must touch upon an important aspect of the community members' lives (here he specifically mentions education and taxes, providing support for our comparative focus); (2) the event must affect the lives of different community members differently; (3) the event must be one on which community members feel that action can be taken.

Coleman's conditions for conflict fit nicely with our definition, as he explicitly includes the active component. One example of the condition for conflict cited by Coleman was a conflict over school taxes. Coleman argues, however, that the "real beginnings" of this conflict (which resulted in the ouster of the superintendent) could be found in the decision-making style of the superintendent (especially his insulation from politically active persons and groups). We share Coleman's belief in the utility of using management style as a predictor variable.

The significance of Coleman's conclusion is that he tacitly acknow-

ledges a distinction which we have been most anxious to preserve: unavoidable conflicts generated by the structure of the community and those triggered by an event or issue (in the case cited, the superintendent's behavior). The latter conflicts are, we believe, more amenable to manipulation as their origins may rest partially in training.

Coleman also makes note of conflicts which began because of the necessity of implementing decisions reached at another, extra-local unit of government. He argued in 1957 that community conflicts would erupt more in response to state or national decisions, that is, to the sources outside the community, as the juridictional shrinkage of local communities became apparent. As we noted, response to external mandates is a major potential for conflict (July 17, 1978, p. 80).

Problematic issues for superintendents and city managers can be categorized into four basic types of conflict: general conflict, financial conflict, personnel conflict, and inter-governmental conflict. Our current ideas about assessing the likelihood of each type of conflict are summarized below.

General Conflict--Following Minar (1964, 1966) and his disciples, electoral dissent can be used as an indicator of conflict. The proportion of votes cast for unsuccessful school board and city council candidates is the operational indicator. Such data can be gathered from state and county elections officials. Following Greenstone and Peterson (1976) aggregate demographic variables could be employed as indicators of latent conflict. Such demographic variables are readily available from local, state, and federal governmental publications.

Financial Conflict--The passing of the Jarvis-Gann constitutional limitation of property taxes has created the requisite conditions for conflict over finance issues in all California

school districts and municipalities. The current estimate is that state budget surpluses will not be able to replace so much of the property tax shortfall. California offers a wealth of research sites in which pairs of school districts and council-manager municipalities in the same locale will face problems of financial redistribution which traditionally stimulate mass lay participation and conflict.

Personnel Conflict--Personnel conflict is likely whenever employee contracts come up for renewal. Such information is readily available from state educational and municipal employee organizations.

A second type of personnel conflict concerns renewal of superintendent and city manager contracts. Information on contract renewal dates is available from state administrative organizations. According to Iannaccone and Lutz (1970) the leading cause of superintendent turnover is school board membership turnover. School board and city council turnover data, combined with information from local informants, can be used to assess the likelihood of superintendent and city manager turnover.

Intergovernmental Conflict--Intergovernmental conflict is likely when there are changes in state or federal regulations, when more central governments take administrative action against local governments, or when court proceedings are instituted against local governments. Predictive information relevant to intergovernmental conflict can be gathered from federal and state executive employees and from local informants such as newspaper reporters, academic specialists in educational and municipal government and school district and municipal officials.

Coleman's work, while theoretically elegant, was empirically sparse. However, studies of community conflict, normally using fluoridation as an example, developed Coleman's notions more completely. Of particular relevance to us is the parallel between conflict over fluoridation and the various conflicts surrounding schools, as both involved experts versus laymen. The clearest exposition of this point is in Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal (1969). Both emphasize that management style (defined by both as insulation from, or engagement with, community conflict) is

an important and maleable variable.

Like many educational decisions, fluoridation decisions appear to be initiated by professionals. In our terminology, initiation is equivalent to proposal development. Expert participation in proposal development is a major point of our recent book, The Quest for Responsive Government (1978). We note that, because proposal development requires the specification of a need for policy and the presentation of alternatives, "most important measures are...suggested by...administrative departments that have studied the subjects involved and are prepared to present to the legislature the information on which it may base its action. By the time the legislature, council, or school board comes into play, the issue and policy options are well defined" (p. 137).

In the evolution of a policy, professional participation, as opposed to lay participation, tends to occur early. Those who specialize in the agenda-setting aspects of political participation stress the importance of early participation, because experts hope to avoid a conflict of expanded scope and high visibility (Cobb and Elder, 1972, p. 51). Cobb and Elder; Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal; Coleman; and Gamson (1966, 1968) all argue that expanded lay participation enhances the probability of conflict and that each expansion is more easily contained early in the policy process, that is, at the level of proposal development. Even when, as for example by legal requirements for a referendum, the conflict is expanded, early professional activity seems a crucial ingredient in predicting the nature of resolution. Thus, there is a high correlation between a city manager's policy position and the outcome of fluoridation referenda (Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, p. 125). Even so, argue Crain

et al, city managers prefer to define issues as administrative or non-controversial, because their consensual style is strained by conflict (p. 205).

It can be seen from this discussion that students of community conflict rarely discuss intra-organizational conflict. Cobb and Elder are quite explicit about this, limiting their discussion for the most part to "external" conflict, that conflict characterized by efforts of contending parties to control the allocations of socially valued goods (p. 39). Hence, as we did in our earlier thinking, they address themselves to the scope, intensity, and visibility of conflict. For them, the study of conflict is largely a study of the expansion of scope, the development of controversy, and the extent to which the interaction of these two variables (scope and intensity) impact upon visibility.

Our perspective, as outlined in this report, is in this tradition. Social science literature presents us with a variety of phenomena under the rubric of conflict. As political scientists, we are most concerned with conflicts that have expanded into the arena of public policy, engaging the attention of publics outside the organization. This does not, however, preclude awareness of the consequences of intra-organizational conflict on the process of conflict expansion.

Our thinking about the kinds of conflict we wish to study encompasses these items:

1. Conflict is a situation in which two or more parties perceive that their goals are incompatible.

2. The parties to conflict also perceive opportunity to achieve their own goals (at least in part) by blocking the goals of others. That is, we are concerned with situations in which incompatible goals are actively pursued.

3. Bailey's typology of conflict situations, based on the symmetry of authority relationships, identifies subordinates, superordinate, and lateral conflicts. Organization theory focuses on subordinate (intra-organizational) conflicts. From our perspective such conflicts are ancillary to our interest in lateral and superordinate conflicts, typically the concern of political science.

4. Studies of community and organizational conflict are our main theoretical and empirical referents. The dominant theme of this literature is that the study of conflict is largely the study of the expansion of scope. An essential component of the conflicts we are interested in is the involvement of the public in the conflict situation -- in some degree, to some extent, in some manner. In this view, conflict management would not be solely a matter of maintaining the structure of authority relationships within an organization, but of participation in the development of conflict in the public arena.

We believe additionally that organizational theory has been too simplistic in its assumptions about conflict termination. Our pretest persuades us of the merits of a less mechanistic view. Such a view, gleaned from our pretest, is supported by the work of Lewis Coser.

Coser argues that in social conflict provisions for termination must be made by the contenders. He goes on to assert that conflict is not terminated unless all parties recognize that the conflict has ended (1961). For Coser, conflict termination is in the eyes of the contending parties to the conflict. Unanimous agreement is necessary for a conflict to be deemed terminated.

Kriesberg endorses Coser's definition of conflict termination, but raises the problem of some but not all parties agreeing that the conflict has ended.

> Terminating a conflict means that some people agree that it has ended. Either partisans or observers assert that it has ended. Partisan definitions of conflict termination may be explicit or implicit and may be asserted by only one side or agreed upon by both. There is usually a symbolically important event or an explicit agreement in order for both sides to agree that a conflict has ended....Lacking such events, or simply not accepting their signigicance, one side may refuse to agree that the struggle has ended. Obviously this is generally the "defeated" side. Its continuance, or renewal of conflict behavior, generally forces the other side to do so also.
>
> Explicitness and mutuality of agreement are not always associated with each other. A conflict may wither away and by mutual indifference be implicitly ended. On the other hand, even an explicit agreement between two adversaries terminating a dispute may be regarded by one side as an act committed under duress and not binding or segments of one side may not accept what their spokesman has done in their name and they therefore do not regard the struggle as ended.
>
> Observers or analysts of social conflicts should take such partisan acts, definitions, and assertions into account in making their own decision about when a conflict has terminated. Nevertheless, a student of social conflict must choose criteria to define a conflict as terminated. When there are clear partisan definitions, it is useful and sensible to use them. Even when there are not, partisan cues may be significant. Thus, we have seen how goals change in the course of a dispute. When the goals have changed very greatly, it may be useful to consider that a conflict has ended and a new one begun...

> Sometimes students of social conflict use arbitrary time periods to demarcate beginnings and endings. For example, we talk about the 1930s, the 1950s, or the 1960s as being periods of particular social conflicts, being guided by numerical conventions. Fixed time periods are also used because of the availability of data which aid assessment of changes induced by conflict behavior. This may seem utterly arbitrary, but most general struggles are continuous and demarcations must be somewhat arbitrary. Yet boundaries are needed in order to assess conflict outcomes.
>
> History does not end. But that does not, and should not, stop us from writing histories. We must accept the often arbitrary demarcations of conflict terminations, but we should be explicit about the criteria used to mark the end of a conflict. (Kriesberg, 1973)

In accordance with Coser and Kriesberg, we amend out definition of conflict termination by excising the notion that contending parties will be satisfied. Rather, the contending parties should merely agree that the issue has been resolved. Failing unanimous agreement, we may have to designate arbitrary but explicit demarcations of conflict termination. Such definitions will be developed in terms of the behavior of authoritative school district and city officials. Possible definitions include voting and non-voting decisions by legislative bodies, decisions by administrative personnel, and such "non-decisions" as failure or refusal to place an issue on the agenda of a formal meeting, and the cessation of demand articulation by contending parties.

Conflict Management Behavior

Mintzberg argues that the question "What do managers do?" has never been answered. His attempt, and especially his isolation of the role of manager as "disturbance handler," is helpful. He maintains, without evidential support, that management whether of public or

private enterprise is essentially the same (Mintzberg, p. 14).

We argue that there are substantial differences. Private managers do not have representative functions, and are not responsible for the authoritative allocation of values, or the management of social conflict.

However, public managers and private managers do have to manage conflict. Since our definition of conflict indicates an active component, we can begin a dicussion of conflict management from that point. Most writers begin discussion of conflict management with conflict termination. While the equation is not inaccurate, we prefer to argue that conflict management requires the resolution of conflict, the satisfaction of competitor's demands, at least to the extent that perceptions of goal incompatibility are not accompanied by perceptions of opportunity for blocking behavior. The cessation of conflictual activity, then, is our starting point. Conflict has been managed when the parties to the dispute abandon (albeit temporarily) active blocking behavior. Conflicts, then, are never necessarily "resolved"; they are merely made passive.

Political science literature, as typified by, for example, Banfield and Wilson (1963), asserts that conflict is best managed (converted from active to passive) by regulating it. As Dye and Hawkins put it: "Government regulates conflict by establishing and enforcing general rules by which conflict is to be carried on, by arranging compromises and balancing interests, and by imposing settlements which the parties to the disputes must accept" (p. 8).

In school governance, municipal governance, and indeed all governance,

this task is not necessarily easy. It is less difficult in systems with institutionalized channels of communications between elites and masses, and between elites (e.g., political parties and established interest groups). In the absence of institutionalized and legitimated conflict articulation, management becomes more complex. Indeed, some, such as Barnard (1958) believe that the natural, almost instinctive response is not to regulate, but to avoid conflict: to reduce contact between conflicting parties (Nebgen, 1978); to prevent potential controversies from achieving formal agenda status (Cobb and Elder, 1972); "playing for time."

Intra-organizational conflict is occasionally resolved in this manner, especially when such conflicts are a consequence of the misperception of conflicting individual goals (Burke, 1972). Conflict between subordinates, for example, may go away if it is based largely upon minor, non-institutionalized interactions.

However, it seems clear that avoidance of social conflict can result in conflict expansion, first to articulate publics, and perhaps even to normally passive masses (Cobb and Elder, p. 81). The fluoridation literature, and the literature on school desegregation, are strongly in support of the notion that avoidance leads to increased lay participation. Increased lay participation leads to a more complex management problem, perhaps to the "ripple effect" whereby conflicts overlap and groups coalesce.

As we have written on numerous occasions, school managers are apparently more attuned to subordinate conflict management than to

lateral or superordinate ones. When combined with the lack of institutional channels of access, the possibility of minor disputes becoming major ones exists.

Conflicts which escalate because of avoidance, or procedural insensitivity, are clearly amenable to various tracing strategies such as organizational development, as Golembiewski has argued (1977).

Conflicts which are a consequence of the structure of a community (heterogeneity, population growth, etc.) are less easily managed. Successful politicians do so by a combination of persuasion, bargaining, negotiation, and compromise, tasks alien to the training of an expert, especially if the disputants are perceived as not part of the community of experts.

The norm of bargaining, the give and take of politics, is not, however, absent from conflict resolution. We have distinguished between bargaining among experts and bargaining between experts and laymen (see also Petersen, 1976). The two types are not, of course, mutually exclusive. Experts may seek the support of laymen, especially community influentials or active groups. Indeed, one possible distinction between municipal and school governance is the extent to which such coalitions are built (see below).

Intra-organizational conflict, even though Bailey would classify most of it as subordinate, is frequently bargaining among experts. Here, conflict management assumes the characteristics which normally concern students of organizations: the issues are likely to be only loosely anchored to strongly held ideological preferences and beliefs,

and the expertise of bargainers is acknowledged and respected (see Gross et al, 1958). Management strategies are based upon these assumptions. They are generally described as "rational." Thus, according to Blake and Mouton (1961), the following activities constitute conflict management: (1) definition of the problem; (2) review of the problem; (3) development of a range of alternatives; (4) debate of alternatives; (5) reaching for solutions; (6) explanation and evaluation of solutions; (7) weighing alternate solutions; and (8) selection of the appropriate solutions.

Broader social and political conflict is rarely managed by using such a process. Under conditions of expanded conflict, or rancorous conflict in Gamson's terminology (Gamson, 1966), the conflicting individuals or groups are likely to attach strongly held ideologies to their goals and to be willing to acknowledge the legitimacy of expertise.

As conflict expands, the issues become more abstract and unclear; that is, less subject to easy identification. Specific problems are generalized, complex issues are distorted and simplified, new conflicts develop as a subset of the original ones. This process is described by Coleman (1957) and Gamson (1968). Cobb and Elder, as noted, are also concerned with expanded conflict (ch. 7). However, the most systematic analysis is by Edelman (1964). In the late 1950s at the University of Illinois, Edelman began to develop a theory of political quiescence. He noted that a common phenomenon in politics is that conflicts appear to be muted, and conflicting groups satisfied, without any discernable reallocation of tangible resources (Edelman, 1957).

He argued that this was the case because "it is characteristic of large numbers of people in our society that they see and think in terms of stereotypes, personalizations, and oversimplifications, that they cannot recognize or tolerate ambiguous and complex situations, and that they accordingly respond chiefly to symbols that oversimplify and distort" (p. 31). Subsequent research has supported Edelman's view (for a convenient summary see Dye and Zeigler, 1979).

Empirical examination of the implications of Edelman's work for conflict management occasionally took the form of the role of symbol manipulation in the achievement of acquiescence among protest groups (Lipsky, 1968). While this line of inquiry could be pursued, we believe a more useful application is to place symbolic satisfaction squarely within our discussion of conflict management, a point not developed by Lipsky and other students of protest.

The broader the conflict -- the more public and visible the arena -- the less relevant to conflict management becomes the task of the expert. The frustrations of experts at the inutility of rational argument is well illustrated by the fluoridation literature. These examples abound. For instance, water quality, an extraordinarily complex issue engaging the attention of highly trained professionals, becomes translated in public discussion into simplest categories as "clean water versus jobs," categories which reduce the complexities of the issues to understandable terms (Zeigler et al, 1975).

Political leaders, whose resources are electoral, achieve success by symbol manipulation, especially by the introduction of symbols

denoting an enemy: George Wallace vs. "pointy-headed intellectuals," Richard Nixon vs. "bums," Jimmy Carter vs. "greedy oil companies," etc.

These kinds of dialogues are, as noted, foreign to non-elected but publicly accountable executives. Hence, they seek to avoid the expansion of conflict. It is easier, so Cobb and Elder believe, to prevent expansion than to resolve expanded conflict. Their example of conflict expansion is illustrative of the process described above: "The conflict began as a dispute between a group of teachers and a local school board. The Teachers' Union...rallied to the support of the teachers, calling their dismissal an issue on which all teachers must take a stand. Other municipal unions...rallied behind the Teachers' Union, since all workers have a stake in the dispute. As the conflict was expanded and was redefined, the issue of anti-semitism was raised. This brought the Jewish residents of New York City into the fray. They sided with the teachers only because of the larger issues involved. Of course, by this time the better informed strata of the general public had become aware of the conflict, which eventually filtered to the general public when the teachers went on strike."

Conflict detection is a subset of conflict management. Cobb and Elder refer to this as anticipation. Expansion is avoided by early detection of the potentially passive conflict becoming active. If this is done, managers maintain some control of the agenda, some control over the participants, and hence, some influence over the resolution. If anticipation does not occur, management becomes more reactive. One then encounters discussions of reactive conflict management. Pre-

eminent among these are: discrediting the goals, leadership, or motives of an antagonistic group, perhaps be demonstrating its lack of legitimacy as a representative of the opinions presumed to form the basis of the activity; coopting group leaders into an institutional web, frequently by the creation of committees; and providing symbolic reassurance by the same device. By such devices, argue Piven and Cloward, the Great Society Programs "had the effect of absorbing and directing many of the agitational elements in the black population" (Piven and Cloward, 1971, p. 276).

Less overtly political devices are more readily accessible. A major, and frequently overlooked, method of containing conflict is to individualize it. Managers, more than elected officials, have access to this strategy. Our own research, and that of Eisinger (1972) and of Katz, Gutek, Kahn, and Barton (1975) have shown contact with managers by citizens tends to address the problem of redress of individual grievances. School managers, we know, spend a considerable portion of their time resolving individual complaints as opposed to requests or demands for policy. The degree to which such complaints can be resolved without resort to policy modification will be an important predictor of the extent to which conflict can be contained. If individual requests are treated responsively, collective action is less likely.

These strategies, in a variety of combinations, are available for use in conflict management for the prevention or cessation of active blocking behavior.

Our definition of conflict, then, leads to this conceptualization

of conflict management behavior:

1. Conflict has been managed when the parties to the dispute abandon or at least suspend active blocking behavior. The management of conflict is the conversion of conflict from active to passive.

2. Successful management institutionalizes conflict.

3. Social conflict is not managed by avoidance; on the contrary, avoidance leads to expansion and wider public participation and, consequently, to a more complex management problem.

4. Management of intra-organizational conflict involves a different set of activities than does the management of broader social and political conflict. In intra-organizational conflict, the issues are not likely to have a strong ideological component and the expertise of the parties is accepted. In expanded public conflicts, the parties are likely to attach strongly held ideologies to their goals and to be unwilling to acknowledge the legitimacy of expertise. Symbol manipulation, for example, is more appropriate for handling these conflicts than for intra-organizational conflicts.

5. The management behaviors associated with the public conflicts we are interested in are directed toward controlling the expansion of conflict.

Basic Research Assumptions

Two sets of assumptions and beliefs will guide the overall design of studies in the program on Conflict Management in Educational Governance at the Center for Educational Policy and Management. First, we

believe it appropriate to begin with studies of conflict management in the primary governmental units of American education, school districts. We will leave the task of studying conflict management within and among the federal level, the state level, and the level of the individual school or classroom to others or to subsequent studies. There is, we believe, a great deal that can be learned about the management of conflict that occurs at the level of the school district.

Second, we assume that systematic studies of conflict management in school districts should be comparative. We think that the most useful research for superintendents will allow them to draw upon both the experiences of their peers in other districts and also the experiences of city managers, their counterparts in city governments. The governance structures of school districts and cities were both subjected to similar reforms intended to depoliticize them and to render them more technological, but there have been few research studies to suggest the degree to which similar pre-reform structures, subjected to similar reforms, turned out similarly. We think it worthwhile to find out and to consider the degree to which the beleaguered position reported of superintendents is unique in comparison to the position of city managers.

There are those who assert that we will find few differences between the two groups. Stillman (1964), for example, has claimed that "public school superintendents have a great deal in common with city managers. Both are administrators of important community enter-

prises; both are at the beck and call of local boards, both face similar problems of general public apathy and wrath over local issues (frequently at budget time), and both enjoy comparable remunerations for their services." Cognizant of such commonalities, the International City Managers Association and the American Association of School Administrators in 1963 and 1964 held a series of joint conferences to explore silimarities between the two professions, options for training, and problems of administration.

These similarities aside, we expect, nevertheless, that there are significant differences in conflict management between the two. Although few studies of comparative conflict management within the same general geographical unit exist (see following Snow, and Warren et al), we can explicate what differences we expect to exist. Comparative analysis should be undertaken when the units to be studied have an appropriate mix of similarity and difference. When one compares governmental units, for instance, it makes more sense to avoid both totally disparate cultures (Iceland and New Caledonia) and quite similar cultures (Alabama and Georgia).

The point is well illustrated by Zald and Berger's study of social movements in organizations (1978). Intra-organizational political conflict is perceived and described using the categories of social movements: "the similarities of nations to organizations permits us to utilize concepts of social movements drawn from the former to examine similar processes in the latter...on the other hand, there are differences...a state has a legitimate monopoly over coercion,

whereas an organization does not. Moreover, a state has a pluralistic set of goals. It is not even clear how one can conceive of the goals of a state; whereas the goals of an organization seem at least more concrete...cleavage and structure of nation-states endure for generations and are transmitted through families and the class system, while the cleavages of organizations have a less enduring base" (pp. 855, 856).

The differences between city managers and superintendents, perhaps less extreme, nevertheless offer an ideal opportunity for a comparative study of conflict management. This section will expand and elaborate on these differences.

(1) Professionalism. A key ingredient of professionalism is autonomy: freedom to make decisions about one's work. The stronger the sense of professionalsim, the greater the need for autonomy. In addition to our own work, a reading of Lipset and Schwartz (1960), and Schumpeter (1942) discuss the impact of education upon need for professional autonomy. Most city managers are administrative generalists. Most superintendents are selected from within education ranks. The educational backgrounds of city managers are diverse; the education of superintendents more narrow and specialized. Superintendents are normally the possessors of more formal education credentials than city managers; most have advanced degrees, almost invariably in educational administration. Most managers do not have advanced degrees. Studies of graduate curricula in educational administration further indicate that course work is highly specialized(ICMA-AASA, Challenges, 1964;

and Horizens, 1965).

Thus, we believe there is a higher sense of professional identification among superintendents than among managers, and that this identification, although it may enhance intra-organizational authority, is dysfunctional in the resolution of community conflicts which expand to the point where expertise is not a valued resource. As Mosher has pointed out: "It is doubtful that there is any element...more significant for the nature of its public service that the educational system, both formal and informal, by which are tranmitted its other frame of reference, and knowledge, and partly through which these are changed and knowledge enlarged" (Mosher, 1968, p. 25).

One city manager, reflecting upon his training and his job experiences, lamented, "the would-be manager is trained as a managerial generalist, uncontaminated by any talent of political craft..." He goes on to argue that "profession" does not describe the manager job, "and it would be a disaster if it did" (italics in the original). On the other hand, "making the manager a better politician is advocated, even to the extent of engaging personally in the electoral process" (Donaldson, 1973, pp. 505-506). Such opinions are not part of the ideology of superintendents.

(2) Just as the educational background of superintendents is more concentrated that that of managers, so is the public good they distribute more limited. Managers are responsible for the administration of a broad range of services; superintendents, a single service. Further, the service managed by superintendents involves a "sacred object," the

child. Most of the services managed by city managers do not involve objects of such potentially deeply felt values. Planning and budgeting for municipal services seems to involve more pragmatic then ideological bargaining. This is not to say, of course, that ideological conflict is absent. The fluoridation literature reflects this notion, as does the flurry of activity surrounding the treatment of homosexuals. Further, even a cursory examination of urban life sugggests that central city problems are becoming less technical. In this sense, the problems of city manager and superintendent are similar: the problems are becoming less amenable to technical solutions, yet the recruitment of managers and superintendents still favors the technical problem-solvers (Stillman, 1974, p. 107); "...managers as a class are better at assembling and interpreting technical data, analyzing the logic of a problem, and applying rules to particular cases than they are at sensing the complications of a human situation..." (Banfield and Wilson, 1963, p. 174).

(3) City managers like superintendents are now expected to initiate policy. Both were initially regarded as neutral experts, a clearly untenable role. Both are now viewed as having broader responsibilities. Our research leaves no doubt at the role of the superintendent. Research on city managers (Loveridge, Eyestone, for example) reaches similar conclusions for managers. Indeed, Kammerer's analysis of publications of the International City Manager's Association from 1952-1962 reveals more references to the role of policy leader or innovator than to any other role (Kammerer, 1964, p. 428).

However, important differences are present. City councils represent

more of a diverse range of religious, educational, and financial backgrounds than do school boards (Eulau and Prewitt, 1973; Torgounik, 1969, p. 35). Deference to expertise is more characteristic of middle to upper class professionals than to less affluent social classes. Thus, we argued that the city manager's role in policy formation was more likely to be challanged by the city council than was the superintendent's by the board, especially when the council was led by an active, popularly elected mayor. Kammerer observed that city managers had less range of discretion under these circumstances (Kammerer, 1953, p. 439). A direct comparison can be made with one of the cities in our earlier study in which the mayor became, by reason of his office, chairman of the school board. In this case, superintendent discretion was limited.

(4) Partially because of their more general substantive managerial responsibilities, city managers face the problem of alliances between department leaders and organized interest groups. The executive bureau-interest group relationship so well documented in the interest group literature (Truman, Freeman, Zeigler) in National Politics is becoming characteristic of large urban political systems (we are grateful to John Hall, Arizona State University, who in completing a manuscript on urban government under the auspices of the Brookings Institution for this insight). Thus, managers might find themselves in conflict with heads of administrative agencies in alliance with their clientele group. This phenomenon is less often found in school governance; although superintendents must, of necessity, rely on staff for information. The

governance structure does not encourage administrative-interest group alliances independent of the superintendent.

(5) However, superintendent relations with school principals creates problems not felt by city managers. Whereas municipal departments develop strong relations with functional interest groups, principals may develop independent influence based upon geographical identification.

Principals are also, along with teachers, in positions to contain or exacerbate conflict by implementation. As Majone and Wildavsky (1978) argue, it is clear that implemenation shapes policy. That is, impact of a policy upon the intended public will be subject to manipulation by the line officials. The extent to whcih principals correctly interpret the values of their constituents and make incremental adjustments in policy will be an important variable in conflict resolution (I am grateful to Wolcott, Carlson, and Charters for assisting me on this point). Securing the loyalty of principals -- and allowing them the latitude to modify policy -- can be a valuable strategy for superintendents.

The fact that such buffer opportunities are not as available for city managers may create more direct group interaction and conflict with politically influential elites (on this point see especially Carlson, ICMA-AASA, Challenges, 1965; ICMA-AASA, Horizens, 1964).

Thus, the opportunities for comparison are ideal: "observers of the municipal and school scene have commented on the similarity of roles of city managers and school superintendents and have suggested that specimans of each be dissected and compared. School administrators and city

managers themselves have commented on these similarities and have even compared salaries as a guide to standards of compensation" (ICMA-AASA, Horizens, 1964, p. 1). Martin notes "...all school districts and a large and growing number of cities operate under systems which are comparable in many important respects...that the students of public education and city government might learn much from cross analysis would seem so obvious as to require no documentation" (Martin, 1967, p. 41).

To summarize then, the bases for expected differences in the way city managers and superintendents deal with conflict:

(1) Their stronger sense of professional identification is a disadvantage for superintendents in handling expanded conflicts, where expertise is not as relevant a resource as in intra-organizational disputes.

(2) The difference in the scope and nature of the "public goods" each administers implies that the conflicts that develop over them will call for different skills to deal with them. The mix of technical and ideological conflict is characteristically different for each administrative arena, and so the most effective mix of skills will also vary.

(3) Managers and superintendents have different roles as policy initiators, and have different relationships with their elected councils/boards. Conflict management will vary with the parties to the conflict.

(4) Municipal government is functionally decentralized, and the

school system is geographically decentralized. Consequently, managers and superintendents confront different kinds of alliances between subordinates and clientele groups. Heads of municipal departments develop strong relations with functional interest groups, and principals develop geographic bases of influence.

The Comparison of Superintendents and City Managers

Traditional studies of school governance gloss over such comparisons, although practitioners are, from our experience, eager to explore them. Many students of educational governance maintain the position that educational governance should not adhere to a classical legislative governmental model (Boyd, 1975; Charters, 1953; McGivney and Moynihan, 1972; Moore, 1980). Instead, school districts require buffering from the fads and often transient trends which arise in the community. This buffer zone is essential for protecting the technological function of education, i.e., providing a basic curriculum. As Moore sees it:

> Because the technology employed by school personnel is relatively imprecise (a given approach will not result in the desired outcome for all cases), schools are more vulnerable to external shifts in opinions and faddism. In the case of this situation, it may be wise to protect the basic curriculum or technology of schools from frequent shifts in policy and program. In short, a preeminent requirement of school organization as opposed to city councils may be to maintain the organization. Hence boards, teachers, and administrators favor buffering the schools from the environment." (Moore, 1980, p. 4)

While buffering zone proponents do not dispute that educational governance must consider and respond to community desires, this response must be tempered by the technical advice of the professionals appointed to admini-

strate the educational process, particularly the school superintendent. This temperance zone between community demands and professional expertise has commonly been referred to as the "zone of consent" (Moore, 1980), the "margin of tolerance" (Charters, 1973), and the "zone of tolerance" (Boyd, 1975; McGivney and Moynihan, 1972).

Our staff seminars reveal problems with the notion of a zone of tolerance. Charters, one of the authors most frequently cited as a proponent of this view, is of the opinion that the concept has more theoretical utility than empirical precision. In one of our seminars, Charters advanced the opinion that the zone of tolerance is, on the one hand, so apparent (abstractly) as to defy refutation. A superintendent who proposes compulsory courses on the delights of communism (an example used by others) would certainly violate the zone of tolerance. On the other hand, the "real world" provides no evidence that normal decision making takes a zone of tolerance into account. Our respondents did not reveal any awareness of, or interest in, generalized zones of tolerance. Rather, they related to the stimulus of more explicit potential articulators of support and opposition. In another seminar, John Orbell of the political science department, operationalized "constraints" on decisions as functions of active coalitions.

Our proposed study challenges the efficacy and legitimacy of this buffering zone view of educational governance. Rather, we are investigating the extent to which education takes place in a conflictual arena which requires a classical legislative process for the

conduct of educational policy. From this viewpoint, superintendents would be expected to have a great deal in common with city managers regarding conflict and conflict management. In this increasingly political age, those distinctions which formerly existed between municipal and educational governance would be expected to be increasingly blurred.

City managers and superintendents have a logical basis for comparison in that both of these administrators are appointed on the basis of their technical expertise by lay legislative bodies. They are both supposed to use their expertise to recommend policy to their legislative boards. Yet it is well understood that they are both expected to administer the policies ultimately decided upon by their legislative bodies.

The first phase of our study, i.e., the pretest or pilot study phase, suggests that the comparison between the conflict management of city managers and superintendents is a well founded comparison. There are three major bases for this comparison.

First, superintendents and city managers do indeed hold <u>similar positions</u> but in different domains. Several of the respondents recognized this similarity and took advantage of it by sharing resources and by holding regular meetings with each other. The second basis of comparison is that superintendents and city managers face <u>similar types of conflict situations</u>. Some of these conflict areas are finances, collective bargaining negotiations, establishing workable relationships with their school boards/city councils, and state and

federal interventions. Finally, there is an increasing interrelationship between school and city affairs. For example, the Portland city council formally requested the school board to consult with them regarding school closure decisions.

While superintendents and city managers have a great deal in common, there are also some important differences between these two groups. Many of these differences can be related to the differentiated views of educational and municipal governance. While municipal governance is well recognized as a political process, educational governance is viewed primarily as apolitical. This differentiated view can cause different conflict management styles of the superintendent and city manager, even when they are dealing with similar problems.

II. Conceptual Framework

In this section we will move from the more abstract theoretical discussion to a phrasing of the specific research questions which guided our data collection effort.

Study Variables and Research Questions

Variable I: Conflict Management Behavior

The major dependent variable in this study will be conflict management behavior. Two important questions are related to this variable:

Question 1: When faced with conflict, what management behaviors do superintendents and city managers exhibit?

Question 2: To what degree and in what ways are the conflict management behaviors of superintendents and city managers different?

We are interested in the types of conflict management behaviors reported and in the extent to which administrators exhibit conflict management behaviors. Specific dimensions of this variable are:

Types of Conflict Management Behaviors

the aspect of conflict that is managed (i.e., its source, substance, scope and intensity

the degree of initiative on the part of the administrator

the level of awareness or sophistication

the extent to which conflict management behaviors are directed toward individuals and groups

the extent to which conflict management behaviors contain or expand conflict

Extent of Conflict Management Behaviors

the range or number of different behaviors exhibited

behaviors most often used

frequency of behaviors exhibited

time spent managing conflict

We have outlined the dimensions of this variable after a review of an extensive literature that includes the following:*

Banfield and Wilson (1963); Barnard (1959); Blake and Mouton (1961); Boulding (1962); Burke (1972); Chase (1951); Cobb and Elder (1972); Dahl (1966); Dye and Hawkins (1967); Easton (1953); Edelman (1964); Eisinger (1972); Eyestone (1966); Fink (1968); Galtung (1965); Golembiewski (1965); Katz, Kahn, and Barton (1975); Cremin (1964); Levine (1961); Loveridge (1971); Majone and Wildavsky (1978); March and Simon (1957); Marek (1966); Mintzberg (1973); Nebgen (1978); Peterson (1976); Piven and Cloward (1971); Pressman and Wildavsky (1973); Seiler (1963); Snow (1966); and Tyack (1974).

This variable assumes importance because we agree with Mintzberg ade- (1973) that the question, "What do administrators do?" has never been answered adequately. We, like others involved in training superintendents, wish that presecriptions for behavior that are so common were more often grounded in empricial evidence of effectiveness.

One example of available research that has influenced our portrayal of this variable is that by Cremin (1964) in relation to the degree of initiative involved in managing conflict. His research indicates that when managers wait for groups to come to them, conflict is more difficult to manage than when they initiate communication with those groups prior to the development of large-scale conflict. We will be able to shed further light on his findings with this study.

*Complete citations are found in the appended bibliography.

Measures of the extent of conflict management behavior, will inform our inferences about the difficulties administrators have in managing conflict. We think it reasonable to assume that the more time a person spends on an issue, the more difficult it is for that person to resolve that conflict. We will also check responses about time spent against estimates of scale and other dimensions of conflict (see Variable IV) to ascertain whether larger conflicts invariably take more time, and if so, whether and how difficulty enters in.

Our assumptions here were guided by public management ideology, which tends to view conflict as a deflection from the tasks of service delivery. The alternate view, from political science, that managing conflict is not a deflection, but rather is the job, would not support the notion that the more time one spends in managing conflict, the more difficult becomes the task of conflict resolution. If, for example, superintendents spend less time managing conflict than do city managers; and if they prove to be less effective in conflict management, the time/difficulty hypotheses does not hold. An alternate assumption may be that the more time one spends in managing conflict, the better one becomes.

Variable II: Context

We also seek to explain any variance we find among superintendents and city managers and any differences we find between the two groups. The third major question posed by this study is:

Question 3: How much and in what way does context account for differences among and between superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behaviors?

One type of explanation, typically offered forth by political scientists and organizational theorists involves dimensions that can be expected to remain relatively stable across several (conflict) situations in a site. We are interested in three dimensions on context: (1) governmental structures, (2) community characteristics, and (3) administrative structures. Specific dimensions of this variable are:

Governmental Structures

division of authority and responsibility between the legislative body and the administrator

the composition and workings of the legislative body

relations of the legislative body with the community

relations of the administrator with the community

Community Characteristics

size and stability of population

economic and social heterogeneity

the presence of roles and groups for citizen participation in governance

Administrative Structures

size and composition of the administrative staff

division of responsibilities and authority among administrative staff

A large literature led us to emphasize these dimensions. That literature includes:

Angell (1965); Boss and Zeigler (1977); Boyd (1975, 1976); Cistone (1971); Coleman (1957); Correll (1963); Dahl and Tufte (1973); Erickson (1972); Eulau and Prewitt (1973); James (1967); McCarty (1964); Ross (1930); Simmel (1955); Stillman (1964); Verba and Nie (1972); Wirt and Kirst (1972); Zald (1969); Zeigler and Jennings (1974); Zeigler, Tucker, and Wilson (1977); Zisk (1973).

Descriptions of contextual conditions are often absent from recommendations about effective conflict management behavior. By exploring this independnet varialbe, we will be able to make inferences about how contextual variables influence the ability of managers to influence conflict.

An example of the sub-dimensions of structures that we will explore is the presence of consensual groups or groups with stable or floating factions within the governmental or administrative structures of the community. Peterson (1974), among others, has argued that tension between the legislative body and the administrator is greatest in the presence of stable factions. This study will help us validate his finding or call it into question.

Variable III: Professional Status

In addition to asking if differences in context account for differences in conflict managment behavior, we also will look to see if differences in the professional status of administrators makes a difference.

Another major question posed by this study is:

Question 4: How much and in what way does professional status account for differences in superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behavior?

We are interested in three dimensions of professional status: (1) education, (2) activity, and (3) experience. This variable also includes standard demographic dimensions to help us describe the nature of the sample. Specifically, the dimensions of this variable are:

Professional Education

extent of professional education

nature of professional education, particularly in terms of specialization in the profession

Professional Activity

extent of participation in professional organizations, professional reading, attendance at professional meetings, conferences, workshops, conventions, and the like.

nature of participation in those activities

Professional Experience

the extent of experience, in terms of number of years in the profession, number of years in the current position/organization, and number of comparable positions held previously

the nature of professional experience, especiallly in terms of consistency among positions held and movement among comparable positions

Demographic Dimension

sex, age

longevity in the community, community activity

political and religious affiliation

The professional status of administrators is particularly important in school districts because it is so often stressed in handbooks for school boards as the primary reason why they should (and in some cases, must) go along with the superintendent's recommendations. References to elaborate this variable include:

(American Association of School Administrators and the International Association of City Managers (1964); Benveniste (1972); Boss (1976); Campbell, Bridges, and Nystrand (1977); Carlson (1961, 1972); Crain (1968); Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal (1969); Donaldson (1973); Ferkiss (1974); Floro (1955); Greider, Pierce, and Rosenstengel (1961); Hall (1966); Heilbroner (1974); Jacoby and Schwartz (1966); The

Maryland Assocation of Boards of Education (1973); McCarty and Ramsey (1971); Mosher (1968); Oregon School Boards Assocation (N.D.): Price (1969); Rothman and Perruci (1970); Schumpeter (1942); Snow (1966); Stillman (1974); Tyack (1974); Washington State School Directors' Assocation (1975); Wolcott (1977); Zeigler and Jennings (1974); Zeigler and Tucker (1978).

Snow's analysis (1966) revealed some differences between educational and municipal politics in terms of differences in the roles of administrators that he traced to difference in the professional status of superintendentents and city managers. Boss (1976), furthermore, has shown that the amount of formal training received by a superintendent is negatively correlated with a capacity to manage conflict. Stillman (1974) has demonstrated that superintendents more often hold advanced degrees in educational administration than city managers do in public administration. We will be able to reconsider those findings in light of data to be collected in this study.

We will also undertake to study professional activity and experience on the assumption that the professional's expertise and knowledge, initially obtained during his or her formal training, is developed and reinforced in an attempt to avoid obsolescence or to keep abreast of the field. Our understanding of the experience and activities of professionals stems largely from the work of Carlson (1961, 1972) and others who have studied "career" administrators.

Variable IV: Nature of Conflict

We shall consider conflicts in governance to be situations which have the following characteristics: (1) two or more parties perceive that their

goals are incompatible; (2) each party perceives an opportunity to achieve its goals by blocking the goal achievement of the other party, and (3) the situation is public; it is known to the parties and perhaps to others and usually involves persons or groups outside the organization. We shall not, in other words, consider situations to be conflicts if they involve only one person or group striving to achieve a goal independently of others, if the involved parties perceive opportunities to achieve their goals through collaboration or independently, or if the situation is known only to one person or group--either because, at the time, a conflict has not surfaced or has already been resolved or rendered passive for a time. Another question to be answered in this study is:

Question 5: How much and in what ways does the nature of conflict account for difference in superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behaviors?

We are interested in three dimensions of the nature of conflicts: (1) their sources, (2) their substance, and (3) their scope of intensity. Elaborations on those dimensions appear below:

Source of Conflict (Location in Structures)

between the administrator and the legislative body

between the administrator and segments of the community

between the administrator and staff members

between the district/municipality and another polity

Substance of Conflict

the content of communications between or among parties, be they individuals or groups

the degree to which that content reflects basic and salient values, has an ideological component

Scope and Intensity

number of parties involved

durability of conflict over time

As we seek explanations for variance among superintendents and differences between superintendents and city managers in terms of what they do when faced with conflict, we must allow the possibility that none of them manages a constant or singular phenomenon and the different ones of them, in fact, exhibit different behaviors in relation to different "objects."

The literature that describes and categorizes conflicts that may be encountered includes:

> Angell (1965); Bailey (1971); Benveniste (1972); Boulding (1962); Boyd (1975, 1976); Cobb and Elder (1972); Crain (1968); Dahrendorf (1958, 1961; Dole (1976); Erickson (1972); Ferkiss (1974); Gamson (1966, 1968); Galtung (1965); Heilbroner (1974); Jacoby (1973); Lavine (1951); Lerner (forthcoming); Mack and Snyder (1957); Maeroff (1974); McCarty and Ramsey (1971); Price (1969); Rogow and Lasswell (1963); Schmidt and Kochen (1972); Zeigler and Jennings (1974).

Bailey's work (1971) has provided the most precise consideration of sources of conflict, identifying subordinate conflicts (between administrators and those over whom they have authority), lateral conflict (between and administrator and a person or group with equal authority), and superordinate conflict (between an administrator and a person or group which has authority over him or her).

Our focus on the nature of conflict is based on the assumption that we need to understand the "nature of the beast" that beleaguered administrators lament if we are to understand how they deal with it. Another question to be answered by this study is therefore:

Question 6: What sorts of conflicts do superintendents and city managers find themselves managing in their roles as administrators?

Varialbe V: Conflict Orientation

We are interested in the degree to and manner in which the orientations toward conflict of administrators predict conflict management behaviors and are predicted by professional status. This variable, which may or may not provide an independent explanation of variances in conflict management behavior, is an important and unique contribution to this study.

We have chosen to study three dimensions or orientations--the compositions of beliefs, points-of-view, frames of references, attitudes, and predispositions: (1) expertness, (2) autonomy, and (3) containment. Those dimensions are outlined below:

Orientation Toward Expertness

beliefs in the efficacy of or the value of contributions by one's professional peers

confidence in one's own capacity to provide leadership in policy making

Orientation Toward Autonomy

a preference for acting free of the demands of or supervision by a board/council or community

a preference for remaining neutral in the political process of electing/selecting members of the legislative body

Orientation Toward Containment

a preference for consensus within groups with which one deals

initiative in relation to those individuals and groups (see Variable I, dimension on types of behavior)

a preference for limiting the source, substance, or scale of conflicts (see Variable I, dimension on types of behavior)

Again, a large literature has influenced the descriptions of dimensions of a variable in this study. Included in the literature we have reviewed are the following:

> American Association of School Administrators and the International City Managers' Association (1964, 1965); Blau (1964); Boss and Zeigler (1977); Bosworth (1958); Boyd (1975); Campbell, Bridges, and Nystrand (1977); Eliot (1959); Elizur (1970); Goodlad and Klein (1970); Greider, Pierce, and Rosenstengel (1961); Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1964); House (1974); Jennings and Zeigler (1971); Kammerer (1964); Knezevich (1969); Lipset and Schwartz (1960); Martin (1962); Maryland Association of Boards of Education (1973); Minar (1967); Oregon School Boards Association (N.D.); Peterson (1974); Rogow and Lasswell (1963); Schumpeter (1942); Washington State School Directors' Association(1965); Watson (1971); Wolcott (1977); Zeigler, Jennings, and Peak (1974); Zeigler and Tucker (1978); Zisk (1973).

A great deal of this literature suggests that educational administrators will obtain high scores on an orientation toward containment because they are basically suspicious or fearful that "normal politics" will disrupt services to children, those "sacred objects" that are clients of the insitution. By contrast, one is led to expect that city managers will receive lower scores because they deal most often will less salient issues such as garbage collection and zoning. Eulau and Prewitt (1973), among others, have explored this dimension and have found it to be critical in explaining educational and municipal governance.

Autonomy is of interest to us because, as Peterson (1974) has argued, research on politics in education has not demonstrated that autonomous policy-making is peculiar to education. The comparative nature of the study provides an opportunity to investigate this issue. And because we shall also be able to re-examine the findings of Lipset and Schwartz (1960) and of Schumpeter (1942) concerning the impact of education on the need for professional autonomy.

Another question, then, to be answered with this study is:

Question 7: How much and in what way does conflict orientation account for differences in superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behaviors?

As will be discussed in greater depth in the methodology section, the measurements of these dimensions of conflict orientation captured by a survey instrument. We have incorporated questions from Hall's professionalism scale to measure aspects of the orientation toward expertness and autonomy. Orientation toward containment will be reflected in responses to questions from the Thomas-Kilmann conflict mode instrument. For example, a preference for consensus may be revealed in responses to these questions which indicate that the superintendent or city manager has a collaborating or accommodating style. The absence of such a preference may be revealed by a competitive style in which the conflict is defined in more rigid dimensions. Between these extremes, a compromising style may incorporate aspects of each.

Variable VI: Service Delivery Characteristics

We are interested in the relationship between conflict management behavior and service delivery characteristics. As a major variable unit, we will examine service delivery characteristics along two dimensions: service delivery potential and service provision effectiveness. Thus, the variable set is designed to include two dimensions--potential and effectiveness, or input and output.

Service delivery potential is viewed as the resources which are available for the delivery of essential services. Thus, service delivery

potential is the ability of a governmental unit to provide essential services. The research question which addresses this variable dimension is:

> Question 8: To what extent and in what ways does the adequacy of service delivery potential affect superintendents' and city managers' ability to manage conflict?

The reverse may also be asked:

> Question 9: To what extent and in what ways does superintendents' and city managers' ability to manage conflict affect the adequacy of service delivery potential?

Service provision effectiveness represents the effectiveness of the service delivery efforts. The question to be answered here is:

> Question 10: How much and in what ways does the effectiveness of service delivery account for variation in the conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers?

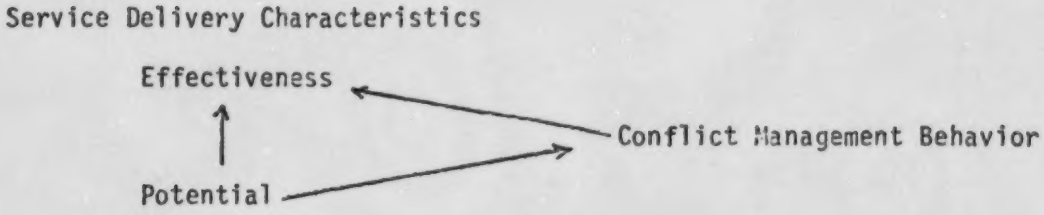
Again, the reverse is also pertinent:

> Question 11: How much and in what ways does variation in the conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers account for service delivery effectiveness?

Since both superintendents and city managers are primarily responsible for the administration of service delivery in their respective domains, we consider this variable to be an important issue for this study. Whether or not service delivery will be impeded when sustained conflict rages in a school district or municipality must be empirically determined.

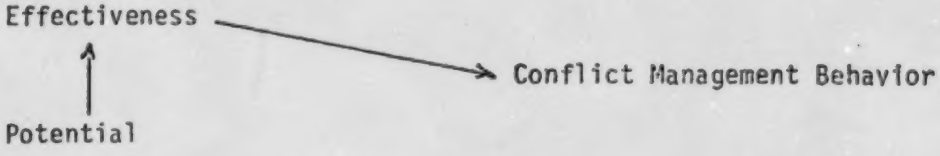
The tight coupling and loose coupling theories have different implications for the expected relationship between service delivery characteristics and conflict management behavior. The former theory implies a relationship between these variables while the latter theory suggests no such relationship. We will test the theoretical validity of these divergent theories with the following model:

Figure 1: Expected Relationship Between Service Delivery Characteristics and Conflict Management Behavior (tight coupling)



In this model, the service delivery characteristics variables are the independent variables while conflict management behavior is the dependent one. The alternative model, loose coupling, suggests no relationship. However, a more refined notion of loose coupling may simply reverse the direction of causality.

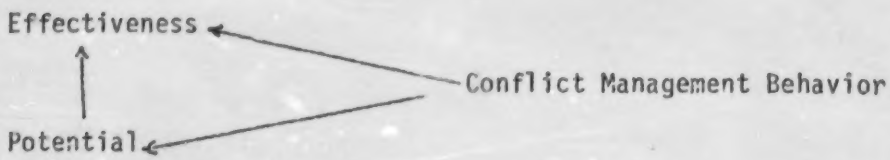
Figure 2: Expected Relationships Between Service Delivery Characteristics and Conflict Management Behavior (loose coupling)



In this case, the argument is that conflict management behavior is predicted by available resources; the potential for effective services leads to effective service delivery which leads to effective conflict management.

Another possibility exists. Both the potential for services and the effectiveness of services may be influenced by conflict management behavior.

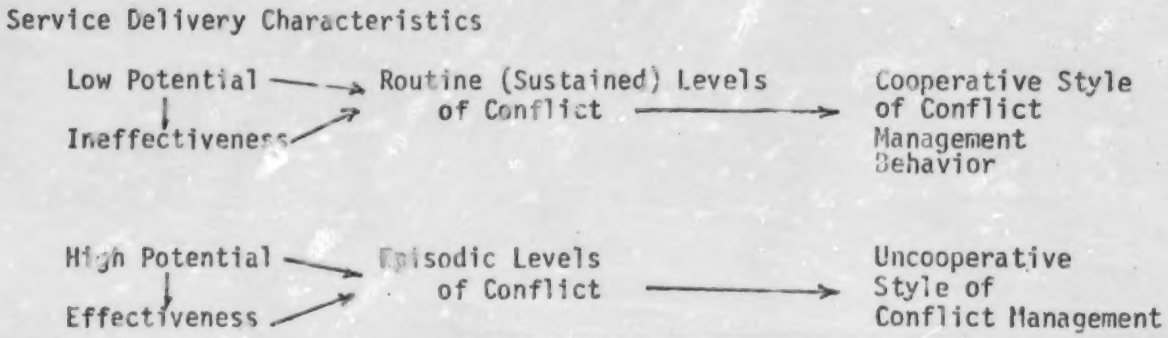
Figure 3: (Mixed Model)



This model assumes that management behavior can maximize existing resources; can make the most of what resources exist.

These alternative models will guide our analysis of whether differences in service delivery potential and effectiveness are associated with different styles of conflict management behavior. For example, in a district with poor service delivery potential, we expect that a manager would face more sustained (or routine) levels of conflict as a result of this paucity. Consequently, the manager would be expected to behave in a cooperative fashion--either accommodating, cooperative, or collaborative--in order to effectively control this sustained (or routine) level of conflict. Hence, we introduce an intervening variable related to nature of conflict. This variable may take the values of routine or episodic levels of conflict. We illustrate the expected relationship between service delivery characteristics, nature of conflict, and conflict management behavior in the following diagram:

Figure 4: Service Delivery Characteristics which are Expected to Cause Variation in Effective Conflict Management Behavior, with Nature of Conflict as an Intervening Variable



If service delivery characteristics do indeed affect conflict management behavior, we also expect that this relationship will be interactive. Not only will service delivery characteristics affect conflict management behavior but conflict management behavior would also be expected to affect service delivery.

As was the case when we introduced the possibility of a relationship between management and service delivery, we note again that the direction of causality may be the reverse. Conflict management behavior may affect the nature of the conflict. The nature of the conflict, in turn may impact upon the ability of a manager to convert potential into effectiveness.

In addition to examining the relationship between service delivery characteristics and conflict management behavior, we will also see how this variable is conditioned by some of the other survey variables. Environmental

Conditions, in particular, are expected to have a great impact on service delivery characteristics. This is a well-defined expectation in the area of public policy. As Dye (1976:235) states this case, "There is little doubt that levels of government revenue, expenditures, and services are closely linked to environmental resources." We will examine this expected relationship using the following model as our guide:

Environmental Conditions ——————> Service Delivery Characteristics

Conflict Parameters will also be examined in relation to service delivery characteristics. Conflict Parameters includes union relations and political conditions. We expect that when union relations and political conditions are conflictive that service delivery characteristics will suffer. Conversely, when union relations and political conditions are consensual, then service delivery will not be harmfully affected. We illustrate this expected relationship as follows:

Conflict Parameters ——————> Service Delivery Characteristics
(Union Activity and Political Conditions)

A Further Comment on Service Delivery Characteristics

Obviously, the relationship between conflict management behavior and the service delivery characteristic variables is not as simple as the models indicate. Clearly, the effect of conflict management behavior on service delivery is not immediate. The interactions we expect to exist may take considerable time to reach fruition. That is to say, an incident that occurs in a short term period may not have any adverse or beneficial impact

on service delivery. However, in the long term, conflict may have important consequences on all service characteristics. In determining the relationship between conflict management behavior and service delivery characteristics we are aware of the potential lag time that may exist between the incidence of conflict and its effects. These relationships are illustrated in the following figures.

Level of Union Activity

# of union members ⟶ Sustained (routine) levels of Conflict ⟶ Conflict Management Behavior

# of union grievances filed ↗

Conflict Management Behavior ⟶ Level of Union Activity

Political conditions data will enable us to determine the level of competitiveness in the political arena and its effect on conflict management behavior. This data is easily obtained through city, county, and state boards of elections. Much like the service delivery characteristics variables, the political conditions variables are sufficient by themselves. But when taken as a whole they provide a suitable composite of the level of political competiveness in a community. We assume the more competitive the political arena, the more cooperative the manager's style of conflict management behavior must be. Under these conditions conflict is best resolved when managers are accommodating and collaboratory in their style of behavior. The following figure illustrates this relationship.

Competitive Political Arena ⟶ Collaborative/Accommodating Style of Conflict Management Behavior

Conflict Management Behavior is not the only variable that influences the effects of conflict. Conflict Parameters are clearly related to the effects of conflict. The nature and level of union activities may have long lasting effects. For example, many managers complain about the lingering "bad feelings" after a union contract settlement. Such "bad feelings" may need time to heal. Likewise, intense political competition in a community also influences the effects of conflict. The following figure illustrates this relationship.

Conflict Parameters ——————→ Effects of Conflict

Effects of Conflict

We use staff relations as independent assessors of the extent of conflict. It is assumed that managers cannot be efficient conflict managers if they do not have the support of their staff once a decision has been made and policy implementation begins.

TABLE 3

Effects of Conflict

Staff Relations	Turnover in central staff Number of days lost to work disruption	Turnover in central staff Number of days lost to work disruption

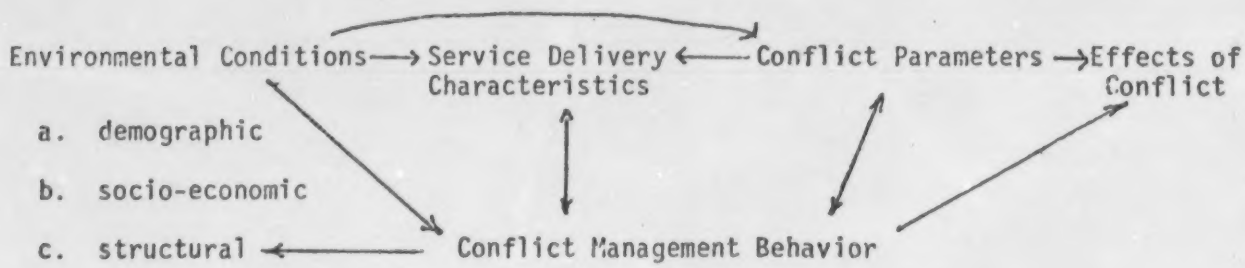
The information obtained regarding staff personnel will provide important information about the effects of conflict management behavior. The following figure illustrates this anticipated relationship.

Type of Conflict Management Behavior ——————→ Staff Relations

Interaction of Secondary Data Variables

We have presented the secondary variables individually in order to demonstrate each variable's relationship with the dependent variable, conflict management behavior. However, the relationships that exist among these variables are by no means simple. Quite the contrary, numerous interactions exist between these variables and conflict management behavior. In order to appreciate the nature of these relationships we have constructed a summary model which illustrates the complex relationship between the secondary data variables and conflict management behavior. The following figure serves as a general model which depicts the complex nature of these interrelationships.

Figure 5: Expected Interaction Between Secondary Data Variables and Conflict Management Behavior



III. Methodology

Introduction

Our pilot study has demonstrated that the comparison of conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers is indeed worthy of intensive study. Feedback from the research participants in the pilot study stage reinforces our belief that such a study would be interesting and useful to superintendents and city managers. Participants in the pilot study also have provided information which helped us to revise our survey instrument, test the availability and applicability of objective data, and to revise our methods for conducting ancillary interviews. The pilot study phase of this project has laid the necessary methodological foundation for conducting a major comparative study of conflict management behavior in educational and municipal governance.

In this section we will discuss the utility of survey methodology for the study of conflict, the pretest of the survey instrument, the use of secondary analysis of objective data, development of a sampling plan, and the ancillary interviews. We will describe the process of pretesting the survey instrument briefly. During the process of pretesting, we were also able to gain some substantive contributions to our understanding of conflict and conflict management behavior. These data will be reported upon in the findings section.

Utility of Survey Methodology for the Study of Conflict

Survey research normally refers to interviews with a random sample, or stratified sample of a mass or moderately specialized public. Such research relies heavily upon the structured interview, as it is generally true that random samples of populations are not well informed about public policy.

Interviewing, whether structured, unstructured, or semi-structured, is a technique which extends well beyond the normal "survey." Interviewing as a method of inquiry is universal in the social sciences. The literature of anthropology is a product of the interviewing of informants. Sociologists and political scientists make wide use of interviews. The writings of psychiatrists, psychologists, and journalists normally have their beginnings in an interview situation. Most "case studies" make extensive use of interviews ranging in length from a few minutes to several hours.

We draw the distinction because we are not proposing survey research, but rather elite interviewing (Dexter, 1970). Our sample is not random, but rather it consists of the most active and informed participants in a decision making system. Our method is to develop, through extensive pretesting, an interview schedule which, according to our respondents and consultants, gets to the essence of perceptions of conflict, its management, causes, and effects. The distinction between case studies and using survey methodology to interview informed participants about their jobs, is therefore not as clear cut as would be the case were we proposing a mass or random sample. Observing and interviewing parallel one another in the data they obtain. Observation records information about interactions; interviewing records information about feelings, attitudes, and perceptions concerning these interactions. Interviewing has the particular merit of reflecting directly upon the subjective states of the actors, as well as uncovering information unavailable from other sources: "when skillfully used, questioning reveals dormant aspects of the system which are not acted out while the observer watches, and which may also be concealed from other group members" (Riley, 1963, p. 167). Such properties

are not accessible to observation. For example, the dynamics of the conflict described in our prototype case study would have been impossible without interviewing.

This is not to suggest that interviewing is necessarily the best, or only, appropriate methodology. All methodologies are flawed. All methodologies have costs and benefits. Interviews therefore do not necessarily produce complete descriptions of situations and phenomena; this is also true of observation. Interviews do, however, accept the premise of Thomas that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (1951), and therefore that information about the perceptions of individuals involved in conflict situations is crucial to an understanding of the nature of conflict and its management in educational and municipal governance. While interview data are not intended to be sufficient for all purposes, they are sufficient to provide us with the image that the manager has about conflict.

Our interviews, which last about an hour, are of the "in-depth" variety to a greater extent than is true of mass surveys. This is the case because research has consistently demonstrated that active informants are more likely to be able to respond to such instruments in comparison with the mass public (Converse, 1964). In-depth interviews with active informants have allowed us to uncover the influences behind particular managerial decisions, to understand the assessment of the costs and benefits of various courses of action as perceived by such actors, and to begin to understand the motivations for action.

Interviews can also be retrospective. Observation can only record the present, and in most cases, must be limited to a few examples.

Additionally, observation is intrusive or interactive. Interviews may also be interactive, but careful development of neutrality in questioning reduced this risk far more than can be the case under observation.

What we gain from our interviews are: (1) The informant's subjective reports about what he/she believes about the subject under investigation. Under this general topic we learn the informant's opinions, his/her attitudes, values. (2) The informant's reporting of objective data. Attitudes, values, opinions, and beliefs are not, of course, subject to verification. Rather, they are in themselves crucial variables in the understanding of conflict management.

The Survey Pretest

Pretests are conducted because the development of an accurate survey instrument requires many stages of planning and revision. First, we prepared a rough draft from a variety of sources. Existing instruments were examined to see if any extant questions (that is, questions known to be reliable) could be used. We reviewed previous research on administrative behavior and examined handbooks of measurement in order to facilitate the development of our survey instrument. Next, the conceptual problem to be examined was arrayed against the log of existing questions. Do these questions seem useful? Then, questions were written by the researchers, guided by past research and by experience and common sense. For example, previous research in school politics led the principal investigator to be wary of using the word "conflict" too early and too obviously. Thus, the initial draft was cautious. Corwin, serving as a reviewer for this study, however, believes it is possible to be more direct. Early pretests shed light on this problem by revealing that conflict is an accepted part of the job for most superintendents and city managers. Thus we revised the draft

to include the word conflict at the onset of the interview schedule.

The rough draft was then revised several more times during the pretest period. We administered drafts of the pretest to superintendents and city managers in western Oregon, Washington, and Los Angeles. These pretests were not conducted simultaneously but rather at one site at a time. Thus the pretests were conducted in waves. At several points during the pretest we used two instruments. One was the current draft of the interview instrument and the other was a completely unstructured interview. This two faceted strategy helped us to discover better ways of asking questions and assisted us in discovering questions which might well have escaped notice by relying solely on the existing interview instrument.

After each wave of the pretest we edited our survey instruments. Editing addressed directly the relation of each question to the conceptual framework. For each question we asked several questions; among them were:

1. Is the question necessary? How does it measure the variable intended?
2. Are more questions needed about the subject of the question? Is the class of variables listed in the framework well or inadequately treated? Do we need to write other questions based upon the unstructured interview responses?
3. Does the question adequately cover the ground intended?
4. Do respondents have the information necessary to adequately cover the ground intended?
5. Does the question need to be more specific, concrete, and more closely linked to personal experience?
6. Can the information be more easily obtained by another method?
7. Is the question biased or loaded?
8. Do the respondents provide the information anticipated in the framework?
9. Is the wording objectionable in any way?

10. Should the question provide for a checked answer (closed), a free answer, or a checked answer with a probe in free answer format?

11. Is the probe too detailed? Not detailed enough?

12. Is the question properly placed in a correct "psychological order" (is it led up to in a natural way)?

We also conducted preliminary analysis of the data following each interview wave. This analysis enabled us to examine whether the theoretical underpinnings of this research actually had a basis in the experiences of superintendents and city managers. In other words, are superintendents and city managers sufficiently unalike in their professional and personal resources and administrative positions to suggest the utility of comparative research for understanding conflict management behavior of local administrators? Our preliminary analysis showed us that indeed the comparison of conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers is a worthwhile and important area for study. We elaborate on this point in our discussion of the preliminary analyses of our research.

The outcome of the pretest phase of the survey is the development of several valid survey instruments. These instruments are an in-depth interview schedule, a small questionnaire and an interview schedule for ancillary respondents. The in-depth interview schedule includes questions which benefit from probing. The mail questionnaire includes questions about the respondents' backgrounds and several attitudinal scales. The ancillary interview schedule is geared toward a panel of respondents who are familiar with the conflictual circumstances in a given school district or city as well as the superintendents' or city mangers' behavior during these conflicts. This ancillary interview schedule is an abridged version of the in-depth interview schedule. We will cover the ancillary interview.

in greater depth later in the chapter.

Development, Testing, and Modification of the Survey Instrument

Since the beginning of this project on conflict management, we have undertaken a series of major revisions in the survey instrument. Now we have two separate instruments, a personal interview and a supplementary mail-in questionnaire in place of the original 100-question interview. The personal interview can be accomplished in one hour's time period and the mail-in questionnaire can be completed at the respondent's convenience.

These revisions are the result of five pretest waves and a practice interview. Altogether, thirty-six superintendents and twenty-one city managers have participated in our pilot study (see Table 4 for the number of participants by wave). Some of these interviews have been completely open-ended and unstructued while the rest followed a structural format corresponding to each wave of our schedule, in conjunction with the mail-in questionnaire, is an effective instrument for measuring conflict and conflict management behavior for superintendents and city mangers.

The following pages trace the development of the pretest from its original form to the present. The development includes the original interview, the practice interview, the first wave, second wave, third wave, fourth wave, and the fifth wave. The series of interview and questionnaire schedules, as well as the Summary of Questions in the Appendix, may be helpful references for understanding the pretest revisions. Also, Table 5 provides a summarized version of our revisions.

The Practical Interviews

Our first interviews were with a superintendent on leave who was currently enrolled in the graduate educational program on campus and with

Table 4

Superintendents and City Managers
Interviewed by Pretest Wave and Location

	Superintendent	City Manager
Open Ended	5 Eugene	1 Eugene
1st Wave	2 Albany, Corvallis	2 Albany, Corvallis
2nd Wave	2 Mt. Angel, Woodburn	2 Mt. Angel, Woodburn
3rd Wave	4 Salem, Coos Bay, Newport, North Bend, Florence	4 Salem, Coos Bay, Newport, Florence, NBend
4th Wave	11 Portland	5 Portland
5th Wave	12 Los Angeles	7 Los Angeles
Total	36	21

Table

Summary of Revisions Made From Original Interview Schedule to the Present

WAVES	GOALS	REVISIONS
Original → Practice	1. to reduce the length of the original interview so that it could be conducted in an hour's time period 2. to select questions that will provide good measurements of conflict and conflict management	1. Selected a limited number of questions from the original interview which looked appropriate on face value
Practice → 1st Wave	1. to better fit the interview into a one hour time period 2. to establish a definition of conflict to be used during the interview 3. to reduce the number of questions related to proactive conflict management in order to provide more room for questions related to management of active conflicts	1. established introductory section which would yield a common understanding of conflict to be used throughout the interview 2. introduced new questions about conflict and conflict management based on responses from open-ended and practice interviews 3. eliminated some unproductive questions
1st Wave → 2nd Wave	1. to maximize questions' informativeness and to reduce potential for evading questions 2. to provide an organization and internal logic to the interview format	1. a series of modifications including: wording changes, mergers between existing questions, enhancing existing questions with questions from open-ended interview and original schedule 2. classified questions into five general sections for organizational format
2nd Wave → 3rd Wave	1. to further reduce question ambiguity and to maximize question informativeness 2. to make general improvements in the General Management Style section 3. to prepare mail-in survey questionnaire to serve as a supplement to the personal interviews	1. developed probes and subsets for main questions 2. vastly revised General Management Style section on the basis of responses from open-ended interviews and 2nd wave responses 3. created questionnaire using demographically oriented questions and scale items from original interview schedule
3rd Wave → 4th Wave	1. to improve question clarity in both interview and questionnaire 2. to improve logic of organizational format	1. reworded questions 2. placed General Management Style section in front of Specific Conflict Situation section
4th Wave → 5th Wave	1. to reline question wording and to eliminate naive sounding questions 2. to reduce size of questionnaire with particular attention to the scale items	1. revised question wordings according to criticisms 2. reduced and eliminated questionnaire items based on reasoning and statistical analysis

an ex-superintendent currently on the Oregon faculty. The main goals of these interviews were to gain an idea of how many questions would fit into a one hour time period and to test which questions were most direclty related to conflict in the original interview instrument. We had already reviewed the interview prior to the practice interview and had selected the questions most relevant to conflict and conflict management on face value. For example, we deleted all those questions that could easily be asked in a questionnaire format, e.g., background information and questions which did not require probing. We were particularly interested in the #80 series of questions since these had been referred to in the grant review as some of the more pertinent questions (see the Interview Schedule and the Summary of the Questions in the Appendix for further detail).

There were 34 questions in the practice interviews and as might be expected, the interview lasted well over one hour. We thus knew that some more cutting would have to be done before we began the first wave. Comments by the respondents helped guide these cuts as well as guide modification and probed to be included in the first wave interview.

We quickly learned that we needed to establish a definition of conflict to be used throughout the interview. This definition would provide a shared understanding of conflict for both the interviewer and respondent. Also we noticed that we had an abundance of questions which were not directly related to superintendents'/city managers' conflict situations and conflict management behavior. For example, a series of questions about the board/council, numbers 6, 9, 10, and 11, were time consuming yet not directly helpful to the main purpose of the study. Questions 15-26 could also be eliminated. These were all concerned with proactive (anticipatory) conflict management behavior and could be asked more precisely in other

ways.

The Open Interview Format

Prior to the revisions for the first wave, six open-ended interviews were conducted. These open-ended interviews allowed the respondents to talk freely about conflict as it pertained to their jobs. Rather than restrict the respondents to our predetermined categories of interest, these interviews were a chance to elicit new topics. These interviews proved helpful in making appropriate revisions for measuring conflict and conflict management.

For instance, one of the topics which emerged from the open interviews was the notion of non-negotiable policy areas. These non-negotiable areas are policy decisions that the superintendents and city managers reserve as strictly their domain and feel that the board or council has no right to oppose their decisions. The best example of this is personnel decisions.

Another interesting outcome was the distinction made between helpful and harmful public interest groups. Quite often, superintendents or city managers will take measures to prevent interest groups from forming since these organizations tend to escalate conflict.

Also, the open-ended interviews were instrumental informing the questions to be used in reaching a common understanding of conflict. It seemed that the straightforward approach used in the open interviews worked quite well. Thus, we decided to begin the first wave interviews with this series of questions:

> When I first mention the word conflict, what does it mean to you? How important is it? Is it a natural part of the job or is it a major problem to deal with?
>
> How much time do you estimate that you spend on resolving conflict?

It was apparent that conflict would be a hard concept to pin down but these questions were an attempt to establish a clear definition of it to be used throughout the rest of the interview.

In sum, three major kinds of revisions were made following the practice interview and open-ended interviews. They are the following:

1. reductions in the size of the interview
2. additions of new and relevant topics
3. establishment of a common understanding of conflict to be used throughout the interview

First Wave

The interview was still a bit long but within manageable reach. The questions still needed a lot of work but the responses showed that we were on the right track. Comments and suggestions from the superintendent/city manager respondents were extremely helpful at this point.

Revisions

In the first two revisions (the original to practice and practice to first wave), we selected out various questions from the original interview without much regard to wording and placement. Now it was time to make combinations and premutations of these questions and to place them in a coherent format. Thus, our goals were twofold:

1. to maximize the informativeness and reduce the evasiveness of the question
2. to provide an organization and internal logic to the interview format

The subsequent revisions were aimed at meeting these goals (Appendix B, "Summary of the Questions" may be a helpful reference here).

One of the revisions was made as a result of one of the superintendent's comments. He thought it was important to distinguish bet-

ween necessary and unnecessary conflict, or healthy and unhealthy, creative and destructive, etc. This distinction between positive and negative forms of conflict seemed to hold useful possibilities for sharpening the initial formulation of conflict.

We also created a series of questions concerning the relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the public, board/council, and professionals and administrators within their administration. This series also questions the amount of conflict within these various groups. These questions should provide information about the various levels of conflict involving the superintendent/city manager, i.e., subordinate, lateral, and superordinate levels.

Another change included the rephrasing of our question on collective bargaining to seek information of both formal and informal participation. Otherwise, the respondents tended to be evasive on this question. None of them had a large formal role in the bargaining process but their "behind" the scenes," or informal, participation could be very instrumental in the bargaining events.

Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument

One of the city manager respondents suggested that this scale would provide a better measurement of conflict management style than the decision making approach scale we were using (#17). The scale looked interesting and had the advantage of already being validated and standardized to the population. Thus, we decided to include it in our pretest.

Our theoretical musings about management style were especially difficult to operationalize. We examined a variety of literature about "conflict management behavior," trying to separate out the relevant com-

ponents of "behavior" and to find antecedents for variance in behavior. As the reader will note, our theory lead us to reject any single cause of variance. The notion of behavior was especially intriguing. Our early practice interviews had a barrage of questions dealing with various strategies of management. By the time of the first wave, we were not making as much progress as we had hoped. It was clear, however, that we were moving toward an understanding of the notion of "management style," as implied in our theory. In staff seminars we noted, subjectively, that some managers appeared to abhor conflict; others appeared to relish it. Some found it natural; some found it painful. Most importantly, some found conflict management to be their job; others believed conflict managment deflected them away from service delivery. The Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode instrument seemed to capture the essence of what we were asking.

After improving the precision of the questions, we categorized the questions into five general sections: INTRODUCTION, LEVELS OF CONFLICT, SPECIFIC CONFLICT SITUATIONS, GENERAL MANAGEMENT STYLE, and SUMMARY. This categorization improved the organizational presentation of the interview.

Second Wave

We still needed changes and revisions to further reduce ambiguities and to maximize information that could be gained from each question. This meant the development of probes and subsets of main questions. This was especially true for the section on general management style. Here we relied upon an open-ended interview, conducted during the second wave period, to improve the questions related to general management style. Fortunately, that interview was extremely revealing about particular management techniques for anticipating conflict, regulating and controlling conflict, and reacting to the aftermath of conflict. We thus integrated

this detailed information as probes in the general management style section. In addition, we referred to information gained from the close-ended interview for probes and subset questions in the other sections of the interview. The juxtaposition of the Thomas-Kilmann instrument upon these open questions confirmed its utility.

The Survey Questionnaire

At this point we decided to pretest a survey questionnaire in the next interview wave. The questionnaire was intended as a supplement to the personal interview. The questions were based on the first twenty-four questions from the original interview as well as scales from the original interview (Questions 90, 91, and 93).

The questions were largely concerned about demographic information concerning the respondent's educational background, employment history, organizational membership, sources of information, and political party affiliation. We also included some scales to determine conflict management style (Kilmann scale #19), a measurement of "professionalism" (Hall's professionalism scale #20), the respondents' views of their job functions (#21), and the relationship between the respondent and the board/council (#22).

All the questions in the questionnaire would provide information that is essential to the hypotheses of this study. Yet none of the information requires a personal interview. These are all questions which can easily be answered at the respondent's convenience vis a vis a mail-in questionnaire which could be sent out prior to the personal interview and returned at the time of the interview.

Our concern in the questionnaire pretest thus became: 1) to see if the

questions provided the desired information, 2) to see if the respondents would complete the questionnaire if mailed to them.

Third Wave

In almost all cases, the survey questionnaire had been completed prior to the interview, which provided an additional benefit of preparing the respondents for the personal interview. The interviews themselves went very smoothly with only a few criticisms noted by the respondents on the interviews.

Only minor changes we made as a result of the third wave. For example, when we asked about the "public," people are not sure who we are referring to. This is a classic dilemma well known to those who are "public" officials as in the case of both city managers and superintendents. Thus, we decided that the best way to inquire about the public would be to allow the respondents to define the public as they normally would define it. We make note of this self-definition in a probe.

During the third wave period, our last open-ended interview was conducted. As far as this strategy was concerned, we had reached the point of diminishing returns. Nothing substantial resulted from the open-ended interview which had not already emerged in prior sessions. Indeed, we were beginning to gain a reasonable degree of assurance that we were on the right track in our attempts to understand conflict and conflict management as it pertained to superintendents and city managers.

Since we had made so few changes between the second and third waves, we felt that we were ready to test the survey instruments in a large city metropolitan environment. Up until this point, we had conducted the survey pretests in small and medium sized cities in the Willamette valley and

coastal region of Oregon. Now it was time to see how well the survey would work out in the Portland metropolitan area where we would expect to meet with more varied conflicts and problems than those encountered in smaller city areas. Thus the Portland metropolitan areas was to be the setting for the fourth wave.

Fourth Wave

Only wording changes and elimination of naive-sounding questions were called for as a result of the fourth wave. The superintendents and city managers in the Portland metropolitan area were more technically critical in their responses to questions than we generally encountered during prior waves. They were also very impatient with what they considered to be obvious questions. For example, conflict continued to be defined as disagreement or difference of opinion by most respondents. But they thought it was unnecessary to ask if conflict could occur on more than an individual level (B). They would normally say that conflict occurred on all levels. One superintendent made it clear as to why he defined conflict as difference of opinion. It was because that was the form of conflict which he most directly encountered. Also, many of the respondents thought it was laughable to ask whether tension existed among the people in their area. They replied, "of course". Thus we will directly ask what tensions exist rather than whether tensions exist in the fifth wave schedule.

Other types of changes were called for in the fourth wave. Some respondents distinguished between the entire board or council and individual members when we asked about conflict with the board/council. As a result, we are extending this question to capture those kinds of distinctions and to probe whether it is individuals, coalitions, or changeable oppositions within the board or council. In addition, we were getting too many NO

responses to the question of whether the superintendents/city managers had conflict with their administration. As a result, we eliminated that broad question which was socially unacceptable to respond YES to, and ask instead three specific questions regarding their administrative staff (formerly referred to as central office staff), their principals and their teachers.

The Survey Questionnaire

Again, our response rate on the questionnaire was good: all but one of the respondents had completed the questionnaire prior to the interview appointment.

In general, the questionnaire seemed to be satisfactory. The criticisms we did encounter primarily pertained to length of the survey, particularly the scale questions.

We provided further reductions by reducing the number of questions on the Hall professionalism scale. First a factor analysis program was run to determine which questions clustered together to measure various aspects of professionalism. Those questions with lower loadings (weight scores) were eliminated. Using this method, we were able to reduce this scale to twelve questions from its original size of twenty-five.

Elimination of two questions -- one of them a scale, small changes on other questions, and reducing the Hall professionalism scale addressed the problem of the questionnaire's lengthiness. We also tried to address the problem of discomfort with scales by modifying our instructions to the scale items. These modifications informed the respondents that we understood the difficulty of selecting only one response for each item. However, we are primarily concerned with the respondent's general attitudes and feelings fully realizing that these attitudes and feelings could change

under certain circumstances. These revisions for the fourth wave of interviews result in the final version of our survey instrument and questionnaire and be used in the fifth, and final, wave of interviews in our pilot study. These final versions will be used in our full survey phase.

Secondary Data Analysis Pretest

We have incorporated secondary data analysis into our research project in order to attain independent, objective measures of such phenomena as environmental conditions, service delivery characteristics, conflict parameters, and the effects of conflict. Some of these phenomena, e.g., environmental conditions and conflict parameters, are also addressed in our survey instruments. But secondary data analysis provides additional data on these subjects from recorded sources. This additional data permits us to gain a more complete picture of the conditions of conflict which relate to conflict management behavior.

Our pretest for secondary data analysis began with a review of the literature to identify the standard objective measures used in educational and municipal research. We also paid a great deal of attention to developing theoretical justification and hypotheses which relate the secondary data variables to conflict management behavior. Finally, we conducted a pilot test of secondary data collection and analysis. This pilot test enabled us to ascertain the availability of our secondary data variables, the form of the data (level of aggregation), and conduct some preliminary analysis utilizing secondary data variables. In this section we will present our initial conception of the objective, or secondary, data. The results of the pilot test of the utility and availability of this data will be covered in the findings section.

Our first set of objective variables, related to the research question

regarding the context of the conflict, is labeled "Environmental Conditions." The variables comprising this category are not fundamentally different from those of any study which seeks to relate the behavior of individuals to the environment in which they exist. The environmental conditions, as specified in our earlier document, address the underlying dimensions of the overreaching variable: community complexity. Clearly the more complex and heterogeneous the community, the greater the potential for conflict. These variables are, of course, nonmaleable. There is nothing that an individual can do to alter the environment; rather individual behaviors must either find the environment acceptable, modify the behaviors, or move to another environment. We propose to leave these variables unchanged. We have uncovered no evidence to suggest that complexity and conflict are not clearly related. Indeed, the tradition of urban research rests solidly upon the assumption that the more complex the environment, the greater the potential for conflict.

We added an additional category under environmental conditions. This third category is Structural Characteristics. The following variables will be examined. First, we will examine the governmental characteristics of the city government and the school district. Here, we are interested in the size of the office staff, the structure of committees, and the formal mechanisms of staff meetings. Many superintendents have emphasized that they have instituted a cabinet system of operations in their offices. They believe that such a system allows them to deal with any conflict situation quickly, effectively, and efficiently. The impact of this system will be examined.

Second, we will consider the effect, if any, of public involvement in

the decision making process of conflict management. That is, we are interested in public access to the minutes of city council and school board sessions, public input into the setting of agendas, and the formal or informal role of public interest groups. Several city managers emphasized that interest groups were actively involved in city policy making. The acceptance of public interest groups in city and school politics might be an important environmental characteristic. Their role may influence a city manager's or superintendent's conflict management behavior.

We now turn to the group of variables called "Service Delivery Potential," a category of variables of a fundamentally different nature than the environmental conditions described previously. Whereas conflict potential is, with relation to environmental conditions, a "given," such is not the case with service delivery potential. It is important to understand, of course, that service delivery potential is not a category of variables which is independent of environmental conditions. That is, the ability of a unit to provide services is to a very substantial degree determined by the ability of the community to pay (see income, above). In this sense, environmental conditions constrain service delivery potential. However, managers, even with such constraints, have responsibility for the allocation of resources among competing programs. To illustrate, one might discover that resources are spent more often for physical facilities than for highly qualified staff. This would be reflected in the percentage of teachers with M.A. degrees, median years teaching experience, and non-temporary classroom data. Allocation figures, especially in municipal government, might well reflect the relative strength of competing bureaucracies. Additionally, one might reasonably expect certain components of service delivery potential to be influenced by the ability of

managers to resolve conflict. For example, one might test the notion that the percentage of teachers with M.A. degress an indicator of professional commitment and quality of service delivery, is negatively related to high levels of conflict, especially if such conflicts are sustained over a relatively long period of time. Therefore, we expect that unresolved conflict should reduce service delivery potential.

Service provision demand, as is true of service delivery potential, is constrained by environmental conditions. In general, these measures are indicators of the level of service expected by the community. The idea here is that, when one controls (that is when one holds constant) the economic status of the community, greater levels of expenditure would reflect greater expectations with regard to quality of service. Hence, high demand is expected to lead to greater conflict potential, as conflict is in many cases a function of competing demands, or unmet demands.

Service provision effectiveness is potentially our most controversial set of indicators. It is essential to demonstrate the impact of conflict management skills upon the delivery of services. There are substantial problems associated with this task. Perhaps the most important set of problems is that many of the indicators of service provision effectiveness are largely beyond the control of the manager (for example, crime rates are largely a consequence of factors beyond the control of the police department, and achievement test scores are largely determined by non-school factors). To meet the concern of the reviewer, we have developed a variety of indicators of service provision effectiveness, some of which may be more responsive to conflict management skills than are others. For instance, student discipline may reflect declining staff morale which may,

in turn, be influenced by perceived level of conflict. In addition to multiple indicators of effectiveness, other indicators can readily be moved into this category. Percentage of teachers with M.A., and median years teaching experience may be related to inability to resolve conflict. These may prove to be intervening variables with service delivery effectiveness. In any case, it is reasonable to test the hypothesis that service provision effectiveness suffers as conflict remains unresolved.

While we previously had included "staff relations" as a subcategory in our category "conflict parameters," we now believe that staff relations are best viewed as part of the category, "Effects of Conflict." This modification is best understood as allowing us to assess, independent of perceptions, the extent of conflict. In this sense, this category serves as a check upon the reports of conflict.

Both superintendent and city managers emphasized their dependence on their staff for the successful resolution of conflict. We were told that quite often disagreements over policy direction exist between a superintendent or city manager and his/her staff. It was argued that discussion was both necessary and desirable for the successful resolution of any conflict. Superintendents and city managers rely on their staff to propose alternative methods of conflict resolution. Discussion of alternatives allows the effective conflict manager to consider all viewpoints and implement the most perceived desirable solution. However, once the decision has been made, superintendents and city managers fully expect their staff to carry out the policy, even if they strongly disagreed with it during the discussion sessions. Thus, turnover in central staff can be an important indicator of the effects of conflict. A superintendent or manager whose conflict resolution decisions lead to chronic turnover of administrative

personnel serves as an excellent indicator of the extent of conflict, and as an indicator of the superintendent's or city manager's conflict management behavior.

Thus we have specified seven major variable areas for the objective data analysis; each of these areas includes several categories of variables. Table 6 provides a detailed description of the variable areas, their subcategories, and a justification for the inclusion of these variables. Initially, the major variable areas we included in our objective measures were: 1) environmental condition (including (a) demographic characteristics, (b) socio-economic indicators, and (c) structural characteristics); 2) structural characteristics; 3) service delivery potential; 4) service provision effectiveness; 5) service provision demand; 6) conflict parameters; 7) effects of conflict; and 8) economic conditions. We also have noted, in Table 6, where changes were later made as a result of the pilot test to ascertain the availability and utility of these secondary variables. Again, these changes will be discussed in the findings section.

Methods for Analyzing Objective Data

Perhaps the most important factor in the final determination of the secondary variables and the methods to analyze the data will be the final section of sites for the project. Until this is accomplished, all data selection can only be of a tentative nature. Once the sites are selected an in-depth survey of data sources specific to the chosen sites can be completed. This survey will facilitate the final adjustments to the data set.

Similarly, the final determination of the methods to be used depends on

Variables for the Objective Assessment of Conflict Management Effectiveness and Their Justification for Use

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition	Justification
ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS			
1. Demographic Population Density Population Change	Total number of residents Residents/square mile Growth rate	Total number of residents Residents/square mile Growth rate	Robert Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky have defined a city as a set of human beings and their institutions, interacting in a densely-settled finite space, producing and distributing economic resources and other values. In order to understand any city or school district one must appreciate the spacial form of the city or district. Density is an important indicator. Density may vary between and within cities. Although density does not always imply decay, it is often related to deterioration, crime rates, congestion, and other indicators of problems.
2. Socio-economic Income Education Minority Population Employment	Median income of families; per capita income Median school years completed % nonwhite; % Spanish heritage % workers in white collar occupations	Median income of families; per capita income Median school years completed % nonwhite; % Spanish heritage % workers in white collar occupations	These variables are all used to help sort the contextual characteristics of an area. These help us ascertain who is living in a given area. Very often cities are a mosaic of racial, ethnic, and occupational groups. The differences of these people generate both interdependence and conflict. If the spatial density of a city is high and its population is heterogeneous then the contact and tensions of these diverse groups are heightened. The distribution of diverse groups of people over a finite space is a critical contextual variable.
3. Structural Characteristics Type of City* Governmental Characteristics Public Input	Reformed or Charter* Size of office staff Structure of committees Mechanism of staff meetings Access to minutes Setting of agenda Number of interest groups	Size of office staff Structure of committees Mechanism of staff meetings Access to minutes Setting of agenda Number of interest groups	These variables help us to determine the contextual make-up of a city or school district. The environmental conditions embrace social, economic, and political characteristics. The political system exists in the environment. The structural characteristics of cities and school districts may influence the style of conflict management behavior.
SERVICE DELIVERY POTENTIAL Note: Objective measures for service delivery potential and service provision demand were merged and some some measures dropped.	Police/population Library books/population* Park and recreational acreage per population* Street lights/miles of streets* Later added: Fire/population Per capita expenditure on police, fire	Teachers/population % teachers with M.A. Median number years teaching experience* Nontemporary classrooms/total classrooms* Later added: Average teacher's salary Per pupil expenditure	Service delivery potential is clearly related to the environmental conditions. The relative scarcity of resources raises questions of distribution which may be related to levels of conflict; that is, not enough resources to please all those concerned. The allocation of scarce resources severely tests a manager's ability to meet the needs of his/her constituents. Also, allocation figures may reflect inefficient bureaucrats, unable to equitably distribute services causing high levels of conflict. The ability of managers to resolve conflict may be determined by the availability and distribution of services.

*Denotes that the item or section was later dropped.

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition	Justification
SERVICE PROVISION DEMAND*	Police/reported crimes Library staff/library users Per capita expenditure on police, fire, library, recreation	Teachers/students Classrooms/students Per pupil expenditure	We use these variables to measure the demand of city and school services by the citizens of a community. In urban politics it is assumed that people leave central cities because they are dissatisfied with either the quality or quantity of services. If demand of services is far exceeding supply we would expect a decline in population. The out migration from cities results in a loss of revenue through taxes causing a further decline in services. Cities and schools faced with these kinds of problems would be assumed to have high levels of conflict. The quality of school services is a very important factor in determining whether or not people will reside in a given area. It might be that service provision demand is not a contributor to conflict. However, disproving this commonly held assumption would be an important finding and certainly demands testing.
SERVICE PROVISION EFFECTIVENESS	Average police response time; fire response time Frequency of trash collection* Victimization rate or index* Crime rate or index Later added: # arrests/# crimes	Average daily attendance; truancy rate Achievement test scores Number of incidents of school violence % students disciplined at least once* Later added: # of expulsions	We realize that achievement test scores may not be related to the level of conflict that exists in a community. For example, conflict is often a momentary phenomenon. That is to say, it may be a brief occurrence which may have no adverse effects on the level of achievement. On the other hand, conflict may be indigenous to a community or school district causing a high turnover in both teacher/employee and manager/superintendent personnel. This constant turmoil may be very disruptive and cause a decline in achievement, or, on the other hand, it may be considered normal and have no adverse consequences. We are very interested in testing the relationship of these variables. Because of the uncertainty of the effects of conflict on achievement, we are examining other variables such as average daily attendance and the number of incidents of school violence. It is our goal here to determine what, if any, effect conflict has on the effectiveness of service provision. Both city managers and superintendents have expressed to us that if they have conflict their ability to effectively deliver services will be impaired. The social science and education literature supports the opinions of city managers and superintendents. That is, conflict affects the delivery of services. We want to test the validity of these assumptions. If we were to find that the level of conflict has no adverse consequences on service effectiveness, it would be a very important finding that would contradict the predominant opinions in both education and social science.

*Denotes that the item or section was later dropped.

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition	Justification
CONFLICT PARAMETERS			
1. Union Relations	% employees belonging to union Number of employees union grievances filed	% employees belonging to union Number of employees union grievances filed	We use these variables to test the strength of the union in cities and school districts. It is assumed that unions cannot be effective if membership does not include most, if not all, employees. The number of union grievances is used as an indicator of employee dissatisfaction with their working conditions. We assume that a high level of dissatisfaction would create serious conflict between employers and employees.
2. Political Conditions	Council turnover; average number of candidates per contested seat Minar or Thorsted Conflict Index % nonunanimous votes on council Number of executive recommendations rejected by council Average turnout in city elections	Board turnover; average number of candidates per contested seat Minar or Thorsted Conflict Index % nonunanimous votes on board Number of executive recommendations rejected by board Average turnout in school elections	It is maintained by Douglas E. Mitchell that there is no reason to doubt that both citizen dissatisfaction and socio-economic and political structure variables affect the levels of electoral conflict and the probability of an incumbent school board member's defeat within a school district. We measure the socio-economic variables discussed previously to determine the direct effects of socio-economic status changes on the level of conflict. It is equally important to determine the nature of dissatisfaction with existing policy. Political conditions may be very important contributors to the existence of conflict. Such conditions may be endemic to a community resulting in a high rate of incumbents being defeated and a high rate of superintendent and city manager turnover. Or, it may turn out that the process works better in districts and cities with certain political or socio-economic characteristics than in others.* Determining the effects of these variables is an important undertaking. We use the Minar and Thorsted Indices to determine the level of citizen dissatisfaction. These tests are an excellent way to explain the defeat of an incumbent as an expression of voter desire to change policy. City managers and superintendents have indicated that they strive to achieve unanimous votes among council and board members. Their management styles include education of board and council members regarding policy directions and they expect any recommendation they make to be seriously considered by the board or council. As a result, the percentage of nonunanimous votes may be an adequate measure of the level of conflict that exists between managers and councils/superintendents and boards over policy.

* Mitchell, p. 86.

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition	Justification
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS*	Gross outstanding debt Total revenue Total expenditures	Gross outstanding debt Total revenue Total expenditures	Financial matters repeatedly have topped our list of major obstacles faced by both city managers and superintendents. The lack of sufficient funds is a pertinent problem for cities and school districts. Insufficient funds often lead to unpopular decisions such as cutting back municipal services or closing schools which are conflict generating decisions. It is important to determine the economic condition of cities and school districts and ascertain the contribution of economic issues to the level of conflict in relation to the variables discussed above.
EFFECTS OF CONFLICT 1. Staff Relations	Turnover in central staff Number of days lost to work disruption	Turnover in central staff Number of days lost to work disruption	We use these variables as independent assessors of the extent of conflict. It is assumed that turnover in central staff is caused by more than just a casual disagreement over policy. Managers cannot be efficient conflict managers if they do not have the support of their staff once the decision has been reached and policy implementation begins.

*Denotes that the item or section was later dropped.

the variables that are ultimately chosen. However, at this stage it is evident that some form of regression analysis will be used to determine which variables or categories of variables have the most influence on conflict management behavior (the dependent variable).

Because of the variety of information available from the interviews, a number of strategies of data integration can be adopted. For example, it will be possible to characterize the community conflict level through the combination of the interview questionnaire, ancillary questionnaire, and secondary data to detemine the effectiveness of the administrator in handling conflict.

Linking the individual data from the interviews with the aggregate data concerning cities and districts represents relatively few problems. The plan is to correlate the individual superintendent and manager behavior, attitudes, and training with various aspects of the way in which conflict is actually handled in the administrator's territory. The secondary data will play a role in determining what kind of factors may influence both the level of conflict in an area and the way in which it is responded to by the administrator. It will be possible to characterize high conflict areas in terms of the variable categories or to characterize manager or superintendent effectiveness in terms of conflict parameters, for example.

One of the basic functions of the interviews is to derive certain categories of management behavior of superintendents and city managers when engaged in conflict situations. The use of the objective community level data will enable us to see if the style of conflict management behavior varies with the independent variables selected for the analysis.

Ancillary Interviews

Purpose

We developed ancillary interview questions aimed at identifying the opinions of individuals familiar with the city or district were developed to achieve a more complete understanding of the pertinent issues associated with the area being studied. In addition, information from individuals outside the superintendent's or city manager's office provided an opportunity to evaluate the accuracy of the superintendent's and city manager's interpretation of the level and types of confict he/she faced.

Upon completion of our pretest interview we asked respondents to recommend individuals who would be familiar with the problems that characterized the school district or city. Suggestions ranged from interoffice personnel to concerned citizens. Interview respondents were extremely helpful in recommending additional sources of information and agreed that secondary opinions were crucial to obtaining an accurate measurement of conflict and an understanding of the issues peculiar to a given city or district.

Use of A Mail Survey

We initially intended to gather secondary opinions from ancillary personnel through the use of a mail survey. We realized that a successful response rate would be inhibited by a lengthy questionnaire. We decided to ask the following two direct questions.

1. How strongly would you say you approve or disapprove of the way the superintendent/city manager is handling his/her job?

Strong Approval	Mild Approval	No Opinion	Mild Disapproval	Strong Disapproval

2. How would you characterize the amount of conflict in this district/city?

Great deal	Moderate	Little

City managers and superintendents were extremely helpful in suggesting individuals who they perceived could best evaluate his/her performance as

well as accurately judge the amount of conflict in the district or city. As a result, ancillary interviews were sent to assistant and deputy superintendents, principals, concerned citizen groups, and teachers' association officials. City managers suggested we contact municipal department heads, elected officials such as councilmen and mayors, municipal union representatives, chamber of commerce officials, and neighborhood associations. In addition, many interviews with both superintendents and city managers indicated that the press plays an active role in conflict situations. We, therefore, decided to include city editors and reporters covering school and city issues on our list.

Thirty-one ancillary interviews were sent out. After two weeks we have received twenty responses. The response rate is perhaps the major problem with this type of interview. Invariably the response rate is much lower compared to personal interviews (House, et.al., 1977).

There were other problems with the use of a mail survey format. First, the interviews we have received show little disapproval of the superintendent's or city manager's performance. This may be accurate, but we find it difficult to convince ourselves that "true" assessments (especially by subordinates) can be attained. Second, we have obtained no variance from the respondents of a particular area regarding the level of conflict in a city or district. We find this to be unusual given the fact that a divergent group of individuals was asked to respond to the questionnaire. In addition, we have seen no differences in the estimation of the level of conflict between superintendents or city managers and ancillary interview respondents in a given city or district. If these two responses are invariably congruent, the ancillary interview is a needless

task.

In one city a group of concerned citizens has established an organization that acts as a watchdog of the school district. In an elaborate report published by this organization school policies were extensively criticized. However, questionnaires received from individuals in this organization indicate that they strongly approve of the way the superintendent handles his/her job.

Use of Personal Interviews

In light of our preliminary findings about the effectiveness of using a mail survey to gather this ancillary data, we concluded that a more accurate appraisal of the opinions of informed personnel regarding city manager's or superintendent's ability to manage conflict would entail personal interviews. Therefore, during the pilot study phase we developed a survey instrument for conducting ancillary interviews and selected the types of respondents who would be most able to make informed judgements about the city manager's/superintendent's conflict management behavior.

The revised ancillary interview schedule can be seen in Appendix G. Questions #1, 2, 3, and 5 in the ancillary interview schedule are identical to questions in the primary interview schedules, and therefore have been carefully pretested for reliability. Question #4 of the ancillary interview schedule (How strongly would you say you approve or disapprove of the way the superintendent/city manager is handling his/her job?) was chosen after a thorough review of the literature and modelled after public opinion survey questions regarding an evaluation of the President's performance as chief executive. The literature on evaluation of superintendents was reviewed in cooperation with Kenneth Erickson, director of the former Field Training and Service Bureau, University of Oregon. The initial effort was

to seek a specific task by task evaluation of the superintendent, such as is conducted by the school board. This level of detail was only satisfactory for those intimately familiar with the job of the superintendent (or, similarly, the city manager). Other types of respondents that we will select as part of an appropriate panel for the ancillary interviews would not be able to adequately respond to such in-depth questions. Therefore, we chose a more general method of evaluation.

While the actual subsample of participants for the ancillary interviews will be chosen subsequent to the pilot study phase, discussions with school district and municipal personnel helped to identify a list of participants who would be able to provide us with valuable additional information. An appropriate panel of respondents for ancillary interviews should be people who fill certain specified institutional positions. Thus we plan to interview one additional member of the central administration, one "line" officer, one elected official, one representative of the teacher and public employees organization, and one media representative for local government. In cases where more than one person occupies these institutional positions, we will select the person with the longest tenure. As such there will be five ancillary interviews for each site in the ancillary interview subsample.

Data Summary

The data we use in exploring Conflict Management in Educational and Municipal Governance are from a variety of sources. Three major sources of data, the primary interview schedule, the questionnaire, and the ancillary interviews, primarily capture individual level data. However, we believe that the capturing of macro-level information is also valuable.

Consequently, we will collect objective data which captures environmental factors which may be correlated with conflict management behavior. Typically, research designs concentrate either upon micro (individual) data or macro (large unit) data (Eulau, 1969). Our aim is to use the two types of data in an integrated fashion. That is, we will integrate individual responses with system level variables. This is done in two fashions. On the one hand, we relate individual behavior to community variables. In this sense, the individual level data becomes the dependent variable. On the other hand, individual level behavior is used to explain service delivery variance. It is also the case that the "chain of causality" can be reversed. We can seek to explain individual behavior as a function of service delivery potential and service provision effectiveness. Thus the project gathers information from individuals and gathers information about the socio-economic and political systems in which the individual exist. The linkages between two sets of seemingly disparate data are methodologically simple but theoretically complex. These theoretical linkages are explained in greater depth in the first two chapters of our final report.

Not all of the variables listed can be explored in this pilot study. It is our intent, rather, to use selected examples of the various classes of data. Further, portions of our research and analysis will be devoted exclusively to micro level data; the reverse is not true. That is, we will rarely confine ourselves to macro level data. This is not to suggest that these variables are less useful; rather it is to argue that we are trying to explain the interaction between individual behavior and systemic properties. We believe that institutions, structures, and community characteristics may be powerful determinants of local management behavior.

In some cases, they may override personal characteristics and in other cases they may not. Thus the integration of macro and micro level data addresses an underlying problem in social science research: are personalities or institutional roles the best predictor of individual behavior?

The following chart lists the variables and data sources.

Figure 6:

LIST OF VARIABLES AND SOURCES OF THE DATA

Variables	Research Question to Which the Variable Is Related	Source of Data* *I= Interview question Q= Questionnaire
I. Conflict Management Behavior	1, 2	
A. Types of Conflict Management Behaviors		
1. Degree of Initiative		I 12
2. Extent to which conflict management behaviors are directed towards individuals or groups		I 6
3. Extent to which conflict management behaviors contain or expand conflict		I 7
B. Extent of Conflict Management Behaviors		
1. Range or number of behaviors exhibited		I 5-16
2. Behaviors most often used		
3. Frequency of behaviors exhibited		I 3 & 4
4. Time spent managing conflict		
II. Context	3	
A. Community Characteristics		
1. Demographic		
a. population		
b. density		
c. population change		
2. Socio-Economic		
a. education		Objective data to be collected from cities and districts (or from census information where available)
b. minority population		
c. employment		
B. Structural Characteristics		
1. Governmental characteristics		
a. size of office staff		
b. structure of committees		
c. mechanism of staff meetings		
2. Public Input		
a. access to minutes		
b. setting of agenda		
c. number of interest groups		I 6
III. Professional Status	4	
A. Professional Education		Q 2
B. Professional Activity		Q 11-16
C. Professional Experience		Q 1, 3-10
D. Demographic Dimension		Q 20-21

Variables	Research Question to Which the Variable Is Related	Source of Data *I= Interview Question Q= Questionnaire
IV. Nature of Conflict	5	
A. Source		I 4, I 5, I 8, A-D, I 9
B. Substance		I 8, E, I 5, D, I 10, I 11, A, I 13-16
C. Scope or Intensity		I 7
V. Conflict Orientation	6, 7	I 1-2
A. Towards Expertness		Q 17
B. Towards Autonomy		Q 18
C. Towards Containment		Q 19
VI. Service Delivery Characteristics		
A. Service Delivery Potential	8, 9	
For City:		
1. Police/Population		
2. Fire/Population		
3. Per capita expenditure on police, fire		
For School District:		
1. Teachers/Population		
2. Percent of teachers with M.A.		Objective data to be collected from cities and school districts (or at the state level where possible).
3. Average teacher's salary		
4. Per pupil expenditure		
B. Service Provision Effectiveness	10, 11	
For City:		
1. Average police response time		
2. Average fire response time		
3. Crime rate or index		
4. Number of arrests/number of crimes		
For School District:		
1. ADA/truancy rate		
2. Achievement test scores		
3. Number of incidents of school violence		
4. Number of expulsions		
II. Conflict Parameters		
A. Union Relations	3	
1. Percent of employees in union		
2. Number of grievances filed		Objective data to be collected from cities and school districts
B. Political Conditions		
1. Board/Council turnover		
2. Average number of candidates per contested seat		

Variables	Research Question to Which the Variable Is Related	Source of Data
3. Minar or Thorsted Conflict Index 4. Percent of non-unanimous votes on board/council 5. Number of executive recommendations rejected by council 6. Average turnout in city elections		Objective data to collected from cities and school districts
VIII. Effects of Conflict A. Staff Relations 1. Turnover in central staff 2. Number of days lost to work disruption	8-11	

IV. Preliminary Findings

Introduction

Our survey instruments have been substantially revised from their original form, making joint analysis of all waves of data infeasible. Each revision provided increased precision of the questions and a clearer focus on conflict and conflict management. While the earlier waves of the pilot survey occasionally yielded vague and evasive responses, the later waves produced very rich, informative, and insightful data. This shift from evasion to precision becomes noticeable during the third wave. It is during the third wave that the open-ended, unstructured interviews provided few insights which had not already been integrated into the structured interview instrument.

The revision in the question about collective bargaining is illustrative of the difference between the earlier and later waves of interviews. Compare for a moment a response to the early form of this question and a response to its later form:

Wave 2:

Q: What role do you play in the collective bargaining process?

A. I have a very small role in the process. A professional negotiator is hired to handle the negotiations and the board decides whether or not to accept the proposed contract.

Wave 4:

Q: What role, either formally or informally, do you play in the collective bargaining process?

A: My formal role is very small. But I become rather involved -- I guess you would say "behind the scenes"...

The informal, behind-the-scenes activities that respondent mentioned were creating strike plans, informal meeting with bargaining representatives on both sides, establishing parameters for the negotiation, etc.

In the early interview waves, a great deal of the interview appointment was consumed in assessing the effectiveness of the questions. We were being particularly criticized on the ambiguity of the questions. Take for example the meaning of conflict. One respondent provided two answers for every question which use the word conflict -- one answer for necessary conflict and a second answer for unnecessary conflict. We incorporated this critical response into a question in its own right (#2) regarding necessary and unnecessary conflict.

During later interviews, particularly during the fourth wave, the nature of the respondents' comments changed dramatically. The criticisms became more technical and particularistic in contrast to the overall, general criticisms from earlier waves. For example, some of the questionnaire items in the Hall Professionalism Scale did not pertain well to the job of city manager or superintendent. Another area of criticism was when we phrased questions to ask "Is there any conflict?" as opposed to "What are the areas of conflict?" The respondents certainly preferred the direct, non-evasive question format. As one respondent explained, "This kind of question shows that you understand what my job is about."

All the comments in the fourth wave remained on the particularistic, technical level and were remedied by wording changes, reductions, and probes for the fifth wave. Along with these technical criticisms, however, was an encouraging overall response that the survey instruments were indeed appropriate for measuring conflict and conflict management. It is also important to note that we continually encountered enthusiasm and strong interest in our research topic of comparing conflict management by superintendents and city managers. As one superintendent commented, "It's about

time that people realized that my job is very political."

Preliminary Findings for Waves 1, 2, and 3

The interviews in the first three waves were conducted in small, homogeneous communities. Most of the conflicts were not lateral; they were subordinate, generally involving collective bargaining. Managers and superintendents alike felt their role in collective bargaining was more informal than formal. Since they were managing small systems, they feared the breakdown of interpersonal relations with staff in collective bargaining became more structured. Superintendents expressed more concern on this point than did managers. They were especially bothered that the collective bargaining process could become, as one superintendent explained, "political." City managers seemed to view collective bargaining as more of an annoyance than a genuine threat. They were no more sympathetic to it than were superintendents, but they did not see such a strong problem in loss of control.

Views of collective bargaining, as expressed by managers and superintendents, tended to carry over into more generalized notions of conflict and its resolution. Superintendents feared that conflict could become "personalized." In addition to fearing a general politicization of conflict, as illustrated by collective bargaining, they also fretted about the extent to which individuals would become "scapegoats." Managers expressed a more sanguine view. Superintendents also expressed fear that, if collective bargaining did develop these attributes, that an unfavorable public image would become a problem: "Public education is having a credibility/confidence problem. Those involved cannot afford the luxury of open bloodletting." Another superintendent who worked informally to avoid the escalation of a collection bargaining dispute did so in order to

"maintain the credibility of the school".

Another area of conflict reveals the fact that, when faced with a similar problem, superintendents and managers react somewhat differently. The problem of extra local regulations and demands came up in several interviews in each of these waves. For managers, the problems were more with the state than was the case with superintendents. However, as both involved extra local conflict, we group them together. Just as managers expressed a more relaxed view about collective bargaining so did they view the intervention of other governments as a painful, but not debilitating problem. In one wave, managers (because of their location on the Oregon Coast), were annoyed at the state land use planning agency, but in general they were more prepared than superintendents to adjust and, frankly, delay. One city manager was especially open about the relationships between his office and various state and federal agencies: "State and federal guidelines could create irreconcilable conflict if I let them. But I don't because I have learned how to play the angles. In the first place, state and federal guidelines often are in contradiction. In the second place, federal rules and regulations are inconsistent. In the third place, nobody is likely to have the vaguest idea of whether or not we are in compliance unless somebody complains. One of my jobs is to make sure that nobody complains. Then there is the matter of the people who occasionally show up from, for example, EPA. They are new on the job, and will be moving on in a year or so. I can outlast them. If I tried to comply with everything I would go crazy. So I don't. In the best of all possible worlds I wouldn't have to spend any time on these matters. But in the real world it is far less of a problem than the press makes it out to be."

Generally superintendents are less cynical. They seek to comply because there is more intra-professional identification among educators at the local, state and federal levels. They view state and federal guidelines as the demands of fellow professionals. Inability to comply, therefore, may not be viewed as a political resource, but rather as a personal failure. Thus, they report more tension than do managers: "the killer is state and federal intervention. Federal and state regulations change every year, and the people who make them do not get into the field to help us."

These interviews from the earlier waves guided us in the development of precise measures. In the next section we will present a more systematic set of preliminary findings from Waves 4 and 5, using questions from the conceptual section to guide the reporting of the data.

Preliminary Findings from Waves 4 - 5

Conflict Management Behavior

The first variable concerns conflict management behavior and addresses the first two guiding questions:

Q1: When faced with conflict, what management behaviors do superintendents and city managers exhibit?

Q2: To what degree and in what ways are the conflict management behaviors of superintendents and city managers different?

This variable is derived from our theoretical discussion concerning "what managers do" (Mintzberg, 1973, p. 14). We assume that, in accordance with our theory, conflict has been managed when it ceases to have an active component. We recognize, as noted in our discussion of conflict termination, that this is an ambiguous and somewhat arbitrary decision. We agree that history does not end. However, in order to gain some purchase upon a difficult topic, we first listed out the possible behaviors as spe-

cified in the theory (detection, avoidance, individualization, etc.). This tactic proved unsuccessful, so we used them as probes instead. By moving these theoretical possibilities into a probe mode, useful information was recorded in the final two waves. It is from these two waves that a more systematic analysis can begin.

In order to examine how superintendents and city managers differ in the way they manage conflict our interviews focused on topics such as time spent managing conflict, ability to anticipate conflict, and reliance on staff and formal meeting. Our preliminary analysis indicates that managers spent more time managing conflict. (Table 7 on following page.)

It appears that city managers have less of a buffer zone than superintendents have. Even within the same cities, superintendents have more administrative staff to filter problems and deal with potential conflict situations before they become problematic. Such buffering permits the superintendent to be removed from dealing with some of the more routine problem situations which city managers must constantly face. As one superintendent explained, "I am not aware of half the problems that go on around here."

Of course many superintendents as well as city managers actively pursue a proactive conflict management style. They see it in their best interest to anticipate problem areas before they emerge into a conflict. This is normally achieved through extensive communication networks, regular meetings, active participation in community organizations, etc. Unfortunately this does not always work out. One city manager revealed that he would like to be able to anticipate conflicts before they emerge but found that very difficult to do. He commented, "I'm too busy putting

Table 7

Superintendents' and City Managers'
Estimates of Time Spent Managing Conflict

	Average Percent Time Spent Managing Conflict	Number in the Sample
Superintendents	36%	23
City Managers	49%	12

out fires to see if new ones are starting."

Superintendents generally take more cautious positions than city managers take. Both these groups make policy recommendations to their legislative bodies. But city managers are more accustomed to having their recommendation turned down than is the case for superintendents. Many superintendents stated that they expected the board to agree with their policy recommendation the great majority of times or else they would interpret the situation as a lack of confidence in the superintendent. On the other hand, city managers naturally preferred the council's support but were accustomed to regular refusals. Also city managers more frequently experienced conflict among the board itself which made it difficult to gain regular approval from the board.

City managers and superintendents often demonstrated different styles for gaining their legislative bodies' support. City managers tended to have more regular and informal contact with board members than did superintendents at which time they would lobby for support. This difference reflects the institutionalized political process that is a recognized part of the city manager's job in contrast to the superintendent.

These differences are not in contrast to our literature review and theoretical overview. A more explicit way of getting at the emerging difference in "style" is our research question about conflict orientation.

Conflict Orientation

This relates to:

Q7: How much and in what way does conflict orientation account for differences in superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behaviors?

In general, both superintendents and city managers favor a proactive, or anticipatory style to conflict management. Through active communication

networks, both formal and informal, a great deal of unnecessary conflict can be prevented. This is not to say that all conflict is negative. Both superintendents and city managers tend to accept conflict as a major, inherent aspect of their job. This acceptance of conflict pertains, however, to a specific definition as a "disagreement" or "difference of opinion." In such cases, active communication provides an opportunity to identify problem areas and to establish acceptable courses of action for all those in disagreement.

Such anticipatory behavior is not always possible, however, especially for superintendents. Superintendents heavily rely upon deference to their expertise. As we know, this deference does not always occur -- particularly when public interest groups are involved.

As noted in out theoretical discussion, conflict detection is a resource in conflict resolution. Superintendents reveal a predilection for rational conflict management...the process discussed by us and exemplified by the work of Blake and Mouton (1961). Thus, anticipation, or detection, should be followed by a series of specified steps to achieve resolution. While superintendents preferred to execute these steps, or some rough approximation of them, they gave relatively few examples of moving from, in Blake and Mouton's scheme, a definition of the problem (or detection), to: a review of the problem, development of a range of alternatives, debate of alternatives, reaching a solution, explanation of the solution, evaluation of possible alternative solutions, and selection of the most appropriate solution. Such rational behavior, ironically, was impeded by their belief that conflict could be rationally resolved. They tried, in many cases, to apply a rational solution model appropriate to intra-organizational dispu-

tes to lateral disputes, and the result was not always in keeping with the outcome as predicted by texts.

While superintendents count on deference to some extent, city managers take other routes in conflict situations. City managers are more accustomed to being challenged than are superintendents. Accordingly, conflict management is in many ways more routine and institutionalized for the city manager than for the superintendent.

An additional comment on this subject is the possible distinction between superintendents' and city mangers' ways of dealing with the aftermaths of conflict. Again, recall that conflict is more widely recognized and acceptable in the municipal arena than in the educational one. Accordingly, superintendents attach greater importance to the bad feelings and disruptions that may be incurred as a result of an intense conflict situation. City managers, in contrast, are more accustomed to the occurence of conflict, particularly in a public arena, and seem not to be as bothered by conflict as are superintendents. Thus, we see greater efforts on the part of superintendents than city managers to keep conflict at contained levels, often meaning that it does not rise to the level of public interest group involvement. We refer to this technique in our theoretical section as "individualization."

Conflict management behavior can be more precisely measured. We have two criteria by which we operationalize conflict management behavior. The style index, which is operationalized in the survey, is designed to determine the levels of effective conflict management behavior among superintendents and city managers.

Conflict Management Behavior Style - effectiveness of management behavior based on the type of behavior managers exhibit in conflict situations

This variable is measured by the interview items concerning general conflict management behavior and their specific behavior in a conflict situation which they describe. We compare managers' specific behaviors in conflict situations to the types of behaviors they consider important to demonstrate when responding to the general question about conflict management activities. The areas of inquiry are anticipation of conflict, regulation of conflict, and minimization of residual hard feelings of the affected parties. The first two activities are derived explicitly from our theory of management behavior, while the latter was developed from the earlier waves. Respondents are assigned a score of one, two, or three. One indicates least effective conflict management behavior style and is assigned when the manager does only one of three types of activities involved in managing conflict. A score of two represents moderate conflict management effectiveness and corresponds to managers who do two out of three conflict managing activities. The most effective conflict managers score three points and are those who are able to do all three conflict managing activities -- anticipation, regulation or control, and minimization of hard feelings affected parties. (See Appendix for list of conflict managing activities used to determine behavioral style.)

Table 8 describes the results from the Portland and Los Angeles areas (the fourth and fifth waves of interviews). We have hypothesized that city managers are more likely to be more effective managers of conflict than superintendents because of their training, nature of the public good they distribute, and their relations with the board/council. Our findings substantiate the hypothesis. Ten of the twelve city managers are distributed in categories two and three. Although superintendents are also

fairly well distributed in these categories, almost one-third of the superintendents were rated not very effective. Thus, the early findings confirm a major hypothesis of the study.

Our second criterion of conflict management behavior is the personality of the manager. This variable is operationalized by the Thomas-Kilmann scale respondents are asked to fill out in the questionnaire. There are five conflict management types of personalities that are revealed by responses to the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument which we include in the mail-in questionnaire. (Table 8 on following page.) These personality types are competitive, avoiding, compromising, accommodating, and collaborating. Thomas and Kilmann have analyzed these personality types in relation to conflict management and created a typology. According to their typology, competitive and avoiding personalities are associated with uncooperative management behavior. In contrast, compromising, accommodating, and collaborating personalities signify cooperative behavior. We utilize this dichotomy in our analysis. Managers who score high in collaborating or accommodating personality styles are defined as likely to display a cooperative style of conflict management behavior. On the other hand, managers who score high in competing or avoiding personality styles are defined as likely to display an uncooperative style of conflict management behavior. It is assumed that the most effective managers of conflict will be characterized by a cooperative style of management personality. We would, therefore, expect a majority of city managers to exhibit a cooperative style of conflict management behavior. The results presented in Table 9 demonstrate that this is indeed the case. (Table 9 on following page.) Over 60 percent of city managers can be

Table 8

Conflict Management Behavior Style Index

	1*	2*	3*	N
Superintendents	(7)	(9)	(7)	(23)
City Managers	(2)	(6)	(4)	(12)
	9	15	11	

* 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

Table 9

Summary of Kilmann Scale

Conflict Management Behavior Personality Index

	Uncooperative	Cooperative		N
	Competing/Avoiding	Compromising	Collaborating/Accommodating	
Superintendent	8	4	11	23
City Manager	3	1	8	12

characterized as cooperative manager types. Superintendents are more evenly distributed between cooperative and uncooperative types.

It is possible to construct a composite table of conflict management behavior style and conflict management behavior personality. We assume that managers who are the most effective conflict managers will be characterized by a collaborative/accommodating personality style. Seventy-four percent of the most effective conflict managers are cooperative personality types. These findings are present in Table 10 (on following page).

The major points to be drawn from the preceding tables are: (1) effective conflict management is associated with a collaborating/accommodating personality; (2) this combination is more characteristic of city managers than of superintendents. Unravelling the "cause" of this finding requires that we examine variance in personality (that is, use personality as a dependent variable) and trace its relationship to independent variables. Since it would appear that managers have a personality more attuned to effective management, we need to know whether the position requires certain personality types (for example, presumably occupation and personality reach harmony or one departs from the job), or whether personality adjusts to the demands of the job. It is a thorny question. From our theoretical perspective, we would argue that the greater professionalism of superintendents makes accommodation (and hence effective management) difficult. From a policy perspective, the issue may be one of isolating and altering those components of the professionalism process which are most contributory to the least effective conflictive management styles.

In the theoretical section, we discussed conflict management in terms of anticipation, detection, regulation, and individualization. The effectiveness scale, modified by our pretest waves, is derived from these broad

Table 10

Conflict Management Behavior Style

by Conflict Management Behavior Personality for City Managers and Superintendents

By Column[1]

	1**(N=8)	2**(N=5)	3**(N=13)
1* (N=5)	25% (2)	20% (1)	15% (2)
2* (N=11)	50% (4)	60% (3)	31% (4)
3* (N=10)	25% (2)	20% (1)	54% (7)

1 Small N's require that the two samples be merged in order to relate two variables simultaneously. In the future, larger samples will eliminate this problem.

* 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

** 1 = competing/avoiding, 2 = compromising, 3 = collaborating/accommodating

categories (see Appendix). These categories are not necessarily sequential or planned. We are not suggesting a pre-planned strategy. Anticipation and regulation (see theoretical essay) are probably as much a matter of instinct as conscious plannings. Especially noteworthy is the degree to which degree of effectiveness is related to conflict orientation.

Context

Our next variable is context and relates to:

Q3: How much and in what way does context account for differences among and between superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behavior?

This variable is not addressed in the survey instruments. Instead we have developed a strategy for collecting aggregate data to serve as independent measures of the context in which the respondents operate. We are interested in three dimensions on context: (1) governmental structures, (2) community characteristics, and (3) administrative structures. Specific dimensions of the variable concerning context or, in other words, environmental conditions, are:

Governmental Structures

division of authority and responsibility between the legislative body and the administrator

the composition and workings of the legislative body

relations of the legislative body with the community

relations of the administrator with the community

Community Characteristics

size and stability of population

economic and social heterogeneity

the presence of roles and groups for citizen participation in governance

Administrative Structures

size and compositon of the administrative staff

division of responsibilities and authority among administrative staff

The objective measures of these three dimensions of the context of conflict are listed in Table 11.

Socio-economic and demographic data will all be available for collection from centralized sources as of spring, 1981, when the 1980 census is made available to local governments. At present, the data is highly outdated, but the spring 1981 accessibility date fits perfectly into our data analysis schedule.

We have stressed in our theoretical section the necessity of understanding the interaction between individual styles and the context in which such styles are played out. The interaction between individual style and context is intriguing not only theoretically, but also from a policy perspective. Which is more contributory to effective management? Some say individual personality; others emphasize institutional constraints. With a sufficiently large sample, we can afford some conclusions and, thus, some prescriptions as to where to intervene (e.g., at the level of the individual recruitment and training or at the level of institutional structure).

A Tentative Discussion of Contextual Variables

The Los Angeles and Portland interviews shed some new light on how a superintendent or city manager's relationship with their school board or city council may manifest itself in a conflictual relationship. In our first report, we noted that the superintendents and city managers in the Portland area were very concerned about establishing a workable rela-

Table 11

Environmental Conditions

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition
ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS		
1. Demographic		
Population	Total number of residents	Total number of residents
Density	Residents/square mile	Residents/square mile
Population Change	Growth rate	Growth rate
2. Socio-economic		
Income	Median income of families; per capita income	Median income of families; per capita income
Education	Median school years completed	Median school years completed
Minority Population	% non-white; % Spanish heritage	% non-white; % Spanish heritage
Employment	% workers in white collar occupations	% workers in white collar occupations
3. Structural Characteristics		
Governmental Characteristics	Size of office staff Structure of committees Mechanism of staff meetings	Size of office staff Structure of committees Mechanism of staff meetings
Public Input	Access to minutes Setting of agenda Number of interest groups	Access to minutes Setting of agenda Number of interest groups

tionship with their legislative bodies. This concern was also evident in the Los Angeles area. But is was more troublesome for superintendents than for city managers.

School boards and city councils are technically in superordinate positions to superintendents and city managers. School boards and city councils make the hiring and firing decisions on superintendents and city managers. School boards and city councils are also charged with the policy making decisions. Superintendents and city managers make recommendations on policy and many even actively attempt to influence the decision of the boards and councils. But, ultimately, policy decisions are made by school boards and city councils, while superintendents and city managers are responsible for implementing these decisions.

The superintendents seemed to be less accepting of the school board's superordinate position than the city managers. While superintendents recognize the theoretical superordinate position of their board, they are accustomed to a more lateral superintendent/board relationship in practice. This lateral relationship is one in which a school board defers to the expertise of the school superintendent and generally accepts the superintendent's recommendation. This may be characterized as the politics of deference.

Several superintendents pointed out that the lateral type of superintendent/board relationship has become less common in recent years. They allege that school board members often aspire to that position due to political ambitions more so than interest in school policy and the provision of high quality educational services. Political ambitions may be an interest in a higher elected office or it may be representing a special interest in the community. Either way, politically ambitious school board

members are more interested in developing and satisfying their constituents than in making educational policy that will benefit the school district as a whole. The following comments illustrate this point:

> Most members of the board are highly political. It's a step to a higher office in the political arena. Often, the board members don't have any understanding of the educational process.
>
> Board members usually come together to do the best for kids. These (the current board) are sticking to their individual ideas.
>
> Fewer and fewer professional people are doing it (school board membership) for alturistic purposes. Rather, people tend to use it as a political stepping stone, personal ego, aggrandizement. They don't see the broad picture. This makes the superintendent waste a lot of time looking at side issues and trivia rather than broad organizational goals, retooling, etc.

In response to this alleged change in the superintendent/board relationship, some superintendents have made attempts to educate their boards about school policy decisions. Others just feel that this change reduces their capacity to do a good job. They are reluctant to accept the type of board that is more interested in constituency development than in following the recommendations of a superintendent. In their view, political ambition is a poor substitute for professional expertise in the conduct of educational policy.

City managers, in contrast, have always had to work with politically ambitious city councils. The conduct of municipal governance has traditionally been marked by political posturing in terms of lobbying efforts and negotiations in the policy arena. While city managers, like superintendents, are hired for their professional and technical skills, they have never enjoyed the advantage of a politics of deference relationship with their councils. Rather, city managers are accustomed to the superordinate/subordinate relationship with their councils and engage in

more traditional political activities like lobbying efforts and negotiations in order to put forth their positions.

Thus, the city managers did not show the same concern as the superintendents regarding politically ambitious council members. Unlike the superintendents who expected their boards to come together to do the best thing for the students, the city managers expect their council members to be representing varied interests in the community. The city managers then take it as axiomatic that they must actively work at informing the city council of the department heads' needs and the needs of the city in general.

Superintendents and city managers do share one concern in common regarding their boards and councils, however. This concern relates to the certain board or council member's attempt to interfere with the administrative duties of superintendents and city managers. While policy is the charge of the board or council, administration and policy implementation is the charge of the superintendent or city manager. However, substantial tension may exist between board or council members, on one hand, and superintendents and city managers, on the other, over this division of labor.

Neither superintendents nor city managers will tolerate what they feel is interference in their administrative responsibilities from board or council members. Some superintendents and city managers actively engage in educational activities to make the distinction between board/council and superintendent/city manager responsibilities clear to school boards and city councils. Even so, many board or council members persist in their interference. At this point, a superintendent or city manager commonly reacts by putting his/her job on the line. This response truly demonstrates the seriousness of their concerns about interference in their administrative duties.

Federal and State Regulations

Federal and state regulations have had an increasing impact on educational and municipal governance in recent years. School districts and cities in California have particularly felt the impact of these external regulations since California has taken the lead in property tax reform, statewide school finance regulations, and, most recently, pending income tax regulations. While Portland area respondents noted that federal and state regulations were inconvenient and often counter-productive, the Los Angeles area respondents frequently viewed these external regulations as major obstacles in educational and municipal governance.

In general, school districts feel the impact of federal and state regulations even more than municipalities. Education is commonly viewed as a process that can enable upward mobility. Both quality and quantity of education are considered to be important factors for "getting ahead" in society. Thus, a great many federal and state regulations are directly related to establishing conditions that will reduce the inequalities that have existed for the last two hundred years in the United States.

The Serrano decision illustrates the impact of state intervention on school districts. This decision transfers the control over funding from a local level to the state level with the intention of equalizing the distribution of funds between affluent and poor districts alike. While this decision is well intended in the interest of providing equal opportunity, its implementation places severe restraints on a superintendent's ability to manage district affairs.

A major restraint is that there is a great deal of uncertainty about

how much funding will be available for the school year. Sometimes the state delays the decisions about funding allocations until after the school year begins. Another restraint for some superintendents in affluent areas relates to providing services that are already in existence but with reduced funds. One superintendent responded to this problem by initiating a private citizens foundation to supplement the state funds. Otherwise, these superintendents still must deal with disgruntled public feedback about cutbacks in services. Finally, the Serrano decision, along with several other state and federal regulations, requires additional bureaucratic procedures to meet the demands of these external regulations.

In sum, the state and federal regulations reduce the flexibility of school district operations, create a great deal of uncertainty, and require school districts to behave more bureaucratically. As one superintendent surmised, these external regulations "leave very little flexibility at the local level" and incur restraints "to the point where you can't manage intelligently."

City managers also noted that state and federal regulations provided obstacles to their efforts to conduct municipal affairs. Mostly these regulations were in the area of financial restrictions and growth regulations related to environmental concerns. Affirmative action and other regulations to equalize opportunity are also concerns, but not to the same extent as they are for superintendents. Superintendents are affected by equal opportunity regulations in the areas of distribution of students, distribution of faculty, curriculum development, testing procedures, and program provisions as well as hiring decisions.

Public Involvement

In general, both educational and municipal organizations meet with a

great deal of apathy from the public, unless an issue directly affects a particular segment of the public. When members of the public do become involved in organizational or municipal affairs, this can be in the capacity of an individual, an organization, or a public interest group. In comparing superintendents' and city managers' views toward public involvement, we found that superintendents attempted to contain conflict at an individual level rather than allow it to rise to the level of public interest groups far more than did city managers.

Both superintendents and city managers viewed public interest groups as organizations which have specific goals and values they are working to achieve. Often these goals do not coincide with the goals of the educational and city organizations as a whole. This difference in goals and values was particularly disturbing to superintendents, who, as we mentioned earlier, expect their communities to unite in pursuing an ideal educational system. Thus, the presence of a public interest group, which is more concerned with a special issue than educational goals as a whole, would be viewed as disruptive and even subversive by many school superintendents. The following comments illustrate this viewpoint:

> These groups are usually narrow minded and insensitive to the needs of other people served by the system...I prefer to meet with individuals before they gang up on us.
>
> These are subversive groups that really don't want to resolve issues. I always try to meet with the representatives of these groups in advance.
>
> When there is a personal gripe, I try to deal with it on the individual level. This saves me headaches with the masses.

City managers, on the other hand, often recognize the difficulties of dealing with public interest groups but accept their presence as part of the democratic process. As one city manager explains, "Pluralism is the

essence of democracy." By and large, city managers are more accustomed to interest group type of participation in municipal affairs than superintendents are accustomed to this type of participation in educational affairs. Some city managers even see it as being inevitable, important, and even most efficient. The following comments illustrate this position:

> In a large organization you are unaware of conflict at the individual level.
>
> I don't have the power to keep conflict at the individual level. It's like water--it seeks its own level...I wouldn't want to contain it--that's deadly, propaganda, manipulation...
>
> I'm more inclined to work with organizations because it's the normal vehicle.

Again, these different types of reactions by superintendents and city managers were the same in both the Los Angeles area and the Portland area. While both superintendents and city managers deal with individuals, organizations, and public interest groups at different times, superintendents more actively attempt to maintain conflict at the individual level than do city managers.

Intra-organizational Relationships

Both superintendents and city managers rely on their staff to deter and contain conflict. But superintendents appear to rely on their staff more heavily for this than city managers.

Superintendents expect that teachers, principals, and their administrative staff will respond to routine complaints and public concerns. If a problem continues beyond routine, the superintendent will step in. City managers, on the other hand, are often more involved in routine problems than superintendents. They do rely on department heads and assistants to handle many situations but are generally more accessible and available to

the public than superintendents.

The very positions of both superintendents and city managers in relation to their service operations support these differential orientations to their staffs. Essentially, the delivery of educational service is decentralized throughout the district with the administrative units of principals and their staffs located in these decentralized areas. As one superintendent explained, "If my principals and assistants are doing their job, all that I deal with is conflict." City services, however, are usually centralized in a downtown city hall location which is generally more accessible to the public that the school administrative offices are.

The positional differences between superintendents and city managers bears upon intra-organizational conflict as well. Superintendents are physically separated from their principals and rely upon formal meetings with them to discuss routine school affairs. City managers, due to their proximity to department heads, see their department heads more frequently and can discuss business with them with more ease. It would seem obvious that the city managers' ease of contact with department heads places them in a better position for at least anticipating conflict.

Superintendents and city managers also differ in their orientations to problem solving with their staffs. Superintendents often refer to "team management approaches" with their staff and refer to their staff accordingly as their "cabinet." This is a formal model for consulting with one's staff about school affairs. In contrast, city managers rarely refer to a formal meeting with their staffs. Rather, they meet with their staffs on an on-going basis and continually work through problems as they arise.

These observations regarding intra-organizational relationships for superintendents and city managers were also noticeable in the Portland

area. In both the Los Angeles and Portland areas alike, superintendents were more likely than city managers to expect their staff to deter and contain conflict. Superintendents also tended to be more formal than city managers in their orientation to problem solving with their staffs.

Summary of Some of the Differences Between City Managers and Superintendents

Our preliminary analysis of the Los Angeles and Portland area interviews shows that there are some important differences in the orientations and management behaviors for superintendents and city managers. A summary of these differences is as follows:

1. Superintendents are more likely than city managers to expect their boards to defer to their expertise and support their policy recommendations. Since city managers do not hold this expectation for deference they are more adapted to participating in traditional political relationships with their councils, such as lobbying and negotiating efforts.

2. Superintendents are more beleaguered than city managers by federal and state regulations. Superintendents commonly view external control as an impingement on their ability to manage intelligently.

3. Superintendents prefer to contain conflict at the individual level rather than allow it to rise to the level of public interest groups. They are likely to actively attempt to achieve this kind of containment. City managers, in contrast, are accustomed to public involvement in the form of public interest groups and more readily deal with the public on this level.

4. Superintendents rely on more formal meetings with their staffs to discuss routine affairs. City managers are more likely to meet with their staffs to deal with problems on a less structured, continual basis.

These conclusions vary only marginally between sites. There were some noticeable differences between sites due in large part to the contextual differences of these two areas. For example, federal and state regulations were a more significant intrusion in Los Angeles than in Portland. And the greater heterogeneity of the Los Angeles area in contrast to Portland produced more diverse and greater levels of conflict than what seemed to be the case for Portland. Still, our conclusion from the preliminary analysis is that superintendents and city managers tend to approach conflict in different manners irrespective of their geographic location. In both cases, the presence of federal and state regulations, public interest groups, collective bargaining, and politically ambitious school boards require superintendents to utilize traditional political practices which city managers have long been using. Thus as discussed earlier, the opportunities for comparison are ideal.

Relationship Between Structural Characteristics and Conflict Management Behavior

Structural characteristics also can help explain variation in conflict management behavior. These characteristics address the organizational environment in which the manager operates. In some instances, structural characteristics affect conflict management behavior and in other instances managers may condition structural characteristics. For example, the size of the office staff affects the extent to which a manager may rely on staff to insulate him/her from conflict. When a manager has only a small office staff, he/she is required to engage in a greater scope of external conflict situations than when the staff is large. Thus, a manager with a small staff would presumably not be able to avoid as many conflicts as one with a large staff. Agenda setting and access to minutes, on the other hand, are

structural characteristics that the manager may affect. Both agenda setting and access to minutes are means for promoting and inhibiting flow of information and input from others. A manager with a cooperative style would be likely to maximize input and output from others in agenda setting and access to minutes. Other managers, with a more competitive or avoiding style, may use these communication media to control participation from the public in the hopes of avoiding or deterring conflict.

As noted in the methodology section, we have made some slight revisions in the structural characteristics category. We are no longer concerned about whether a city is reformed or charter since we see no conceptual relevance between reform or charter cities and variation in conflict management behavior.

Instead our interest is focused more upon conflict parameters; those aspects of the context which theoretically contribute to the setting in which conflict is resolved or managed. We focus upon union relations, as this variable has demonstrable impact upon intra-organizational conflict. Political conditions, presumably, need no explanation as parameters of conflict. They are the traditionally employed measures of turbulence and community conflict. Additionally, they will provide some degree of a reality check upon the perception of the manager or superintendent concerning extent of conflict in the community.

Union activity is an important indicator of conflict potential because a two-way relationship exists between the level of union activity and conflict management behavior. We hypothesize that an uncooperative style of conflict management behavior will lead to high levels of union activity. In addition, uncooperativeness on the manager's part may result in an antogonistic relationship between management and union causing unusually

high levels of conflict. Likewise, we assume that high levels of union activity cause sustained levels of conflict, necessitating a cooperative style of conflict management behavior. (see Table 12 on following page.)

Professional Status

In addition to asking if differences in context account for differences in conflict management behavior, we also will look to see if differences in the professional status of administrators makes a difference.

Another major question posed by this study is:

Question 4: How much and in what ways does professional status account for differences in superintendents' and city managers' conflict management behavior?

We are interested in three dimensions of professional status: (1) education, (2) activity, and (3) experience. This variable also includes standard demographic dimensions to help us describe the nature of the samples of the two "professions". Specifically, the dimensions of this variable are:

Professional Education

extent of professional education

nature of professional education, particularly in terms of specialization in the profession

Table 12

Conflict Parameters

Variables	City Operational Definitions	School District Operational Definition
CONFLICT PARAMETERS		
1. Union relations	% employees belonging to union Number of employees union griveance filed	% employees belonging to union Number of employees union grievance filed
2. Political conditions	Council turnover; average number of candidates per contested seat Minar Conflict Index* % nonunanimous votes on council Number of executive recommendations rejected by council Average turnout in city elections	Board turnover; average number of candidates per contested seat Minar or Thorsted Conflict Index** % nonunanimous votes on board Number of executive recommendations rejected by board Average turnout in school elections

* The Minar Conflict Index equals: $\frac{\text{votes for losers}}{\text{total votes cost}} \times 100$

** The Thorsted Conflict Index equals:

$$100\% - 100 \times \frac{\frac{\text{votes for all incumbents}}{\text{\# of incumbents running}}}{\text{\# of seats open in the election}}$$

Professional Activity

extent of participation in professional organizations, professional reading, attendance at professional meetings, conferences, workshops, conventions, and the like

nature of participation in those activities

Professional Experience

the extent of experience, in terms of number of years in the profession, number of years in the current position/organization, and number of comparable positions held previously

the nature of professional experience, especially in terms of consistency among positions held and movement among comparable positions

Demographic Dimensions

sex, age
longevity in the community, community activity
political and religious affiliation

We have suggested that professionalism, especially the component of professionalism which emphasizes autonomy, is a valuable guide to understanding the conflict management behavior of superintendents and managers. A brief capitulation serves to recall that professionalism involves both a belief in the value of technical information and a commitment to the implementation of policies consistent with such information. Professionalism is partially a consequence of education and recruitment. The more formal education one has, the greater the possibility that there will be a commitment to technology or expertise. Of course, the strength of professionalism depends also upon the nature of the educational experience. The fact that superintendents are more likely than managers to have advanced degrees leads us to propose that they will be more professional. Additionally, the recruitment of superintendents is constrained. They almost invariably are products of education schools.

Managers, by contrast, are characterized by a broader recruitment process.

Data from Portland and Los Angeles support the theory that superintendents have a higher sense of professionalism than city managers have. The questionnaire we ask respondents to fill out contains three variables we use in determining the level of professionalism. First, superintendents clearly have higher levels of education. The nature of the job demands that they have more formal education than city managers.

We do not use level of education as a measure of professionalism in the same sense that the dimension concerning professional activity measures professionalism in that we do not expect superintendents or city managers to pursue degrees in higher education as a sign of professional commitment to the position they already hold. Rather, we use it as one measure of professionalism which suggests the degree to which superintendents (or city managers) might have received a certain type of professional training for their position which consequently may have engendered later commitment to general norms of the profession. Paul Hill (1980) has suggested that professional identification may influence the way in which administrators solve conflicts. While an overwhelming majority of superintendents had doctoral degrees in the Los Angeles and Portland samples, the national average across all districts of superintendents with doctoral degrees is approximately 25 percent. However, the proportion of superintendents with doctorates is much higher in large urban school districts where the average with doctorates is 75 percent. Table 13 (on following page) summarizes the level of education achieved by the 23 superintendents and 12 city managers in our sample.

Second, we ask respondents to indicate the number of conferences and/or professional sponsored seminars they have attended since obtaining their

Table 13

Level of Education

	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D
Superintendents		1	22
City Managers	3	9	

degree. Superintendents indicated a greater rate of attendance at seminars or workshops. All of our superintendent respondents stated that they had attended eleven or more seminars and workshops. On the other hand, only 54 percent of the city managers expressed a similar attendance rate.

Finally, we use the Hall professionalism scale to measure certain aspects of "professionalism." City managers are evenly distributed on a low, medium, and high scale of professionalism, while superintendents are clustered in the high and medium categories. Table 14 on the following page, summarizes the level of professionalism.

We do not wish to impute professionalism solely to individual background. It is also the case that superintendents are responsible for the delivery of a single service to the "sacred object" of the child. Managers, in contrast, are responsible for the delivery of a variety of services, many of which may not engage the emotions of the clients to the same degree that education does. The strong desire to separate education from politics, as evidenced by the reform movement, was based upon the belief that education was indeed a technical service which should not be subjected to the ebbs and flows of public opinion. The same ideology led to the creation of the position of city manager. However, the reform movement was successful in virtually all school districts. It was not as pervasive in municipal government; hence all school districts have superintendents but not all cities have managers.

It is interesting to note that city managers and superintendents differ in how they become professionals. By and large, there is only one type of training procedure for becoming a superintendent. This involves a series of degrees and experience in the educational field. In contrast, city

Table 14

Level of Professionalism (Hall)

	Low	Med	High
Superintendents		11	23
City Managers	4	4	4

managers become professionals via several routes. The two basic ways are through technical training, e.g., engineering, or training in public affairs. It remains to be seen how these divergent routes to professionalization bear upon conflict management however.

Another impression we have about the professional status variable is that there seemed to be a systematic difference in language used by superintendents and city managers during the interviews. While superintendents tended to speak in rather technical terms, city managers tended to phrase their responses more in lay person's language. Again, this needs further investigation to determine the consistency of this difference as well as its implication for conflict management.

Professionalism, measured by education, attendance at conferences, and by the Hall scale is a value more likely to be possessed by superintendents than by city managers. No doubt there are degrees of professionalism within each group. One cannot really speak of meaningful within group comparisons with such small n's, however analysis of variance will, of course, be undertaken once we have a sample size to enable the use of normal measures of within vs. between group differences. While managers and superintendents are not totally different; the preponderance of evidence leads us to argue that professionalism is more likely to be at a higher level among superintendents.

Given the small n, we nevertheless undertook a test of this hypothesis: professionalism impedes effective conflict management. In the following table, by collapsing categories, some approximation can be offered (note, however, that the small n leads to empty cells, negating the possibility of a true test of differences between and among groups). Given this caveat, one notes that for superintendents there is a good relationship along the

predicted lines. Of the superintendents categorized as low/medium on the Hall index, two thirds are classified as high in ability to manage conflict. Of those classified as high in professionalism all are classified as low to medium in effectiveness. For managers the relationship is not so clear. Half of the low/medium scorers on the professionalism index are also low scorers on the effectiveness index. However, all of the highly professional managers are low to medium on effectiveness. In the future the policy implications of this tentative conclusion can be developed. Policy analysis and prescription require enough data to make confident judgement. As Bozeman says, "many a policy analysis has run afoul at the data collection stage" (Bozeman, 1979). At this stage professionalism and effectiveness in conflict management appear to be negatively related, moreso, for superintendents than for managers. (See Table 15 on following page.)

As we noted in our theoretical introduction, the nature of conflict has many dimensions. At the most elementary level there is the actual substance of the conflict, e.g., the nature of the dispute; the domain of the goals viewed as imcompatible. As we suggested, there are likely to be broad domains of conflict common to both managers and superintendents. Thus, in the pilot study, managers and superintendents mentioned collective bargaining, extra local constraints, and financial problems as sources of conflict.

At another level, again common to both, we argued that conflict can be understood as lateral, superordinate, and subordinate. As we suggested, and is apparent from our pilot study, these categories are not mutually exclusive. Additionally, a source of dispute may well be the unclear perception on the part of a manager or superintendent as to whether the

Table 15

Professionalism (using Hall's index) and Effectiveness in Conflict Management

Professionalism	Effectiveness: Low/Medium	Effectiveness: High	n
Low/Medium			
Superintendents	4	7	11
Managers	4	4	8
High			
Superintendents	12	-	12
Managers	4	-	4

conflict is lateral or superordinate. In this section we provide examples of subordinate, superordinate and lateral conflict. Subordinate conflict is principally illustrated in both city and school governance by collective bargaining. Superordinate conflict is illustrated by conflict with segments of the public (as both governments operate under a tradition, however weak, of lay control, the pubilc is regarded as superordinate, even though some superintendents and managers lose sight of this fact). Lateral conflict is illustrated by conflict between the manager/superintendent and the council/board. Theoretically, each has clear responsibilities. However, the confusion between policy making and administration is prevalent, especially in educational governance.

Conflict may be, as we noted, episodic or routine. Obviously the conflicts which our respondents elected to report are episodic. The distinction is useful theoretically, but routine conflicts are so institutionalized as to rarely attract the attention of those who manage conflicts.

Episodic conflicts, as the name implies, are those for which routine methods of decision making may be inappropriate. They have a rather broad "depth of change" implication. That is to say, such conflicts usually involve the belief that policies, relationships, or structures of influence will be altered. This can be accomplished either by an unusual review of an existing decision or by the introduction of an entirely new decision. Such decisions are believed by those who are involved to engage relatively major value of a relatively large number of people. A more routinized conflict is regarded by policy makers and participants as involving minor adjustments or technical implementation of a prior, more generally applicable decision. Such routine conflicts implicate relatively minor values,

or may involve only a few people. Technically informed criteria are generally available to guide the technically trained expert in selecting one outcome in order to resolve the conflict.

The distinction between the two is not absolute. Once episodic conflicts may become so routinized so as to become no longer likely to engage major values; and apparently routine decisions or conflicts may become,through inept management, substantially more likely to involve a shift in organizational goals. Theoretically, it is possible to arrange all conflict resolving decisions on a continuum ranging from the almost purely routine to rather fundamental, goal altering conflicts and decisions. The initial concept of episodic and routine was inferred by Agger, Goldrich and Swanson (1964), and was sharpened by the depth of change ideas of Downs (1967). Another similar train of thought was developed by Martin (1962) his distinction between "internal" conflicts and "public" conflicts. These notions all seek to encapsulate the essence of conflict as either major or minor, and do so with considerable success. While theoretically elegant, we found that only episodic conflicts come to the minds of managers; routine conflicts, because they are institutionalized, are not relevant to their conflict management behavior. Thus, the transformation of conflict from episodic to routine increases the ability of the manager to manage it with minimum disruption to service delivery. Conversely, inept treatment of routine conflict may result in an expansion of the arena. One logical inference is that managers seek to routinize or institutionalize conflict. This assumption depends both upon the degree to which conflict is regarded as desirable or dangerous. It depends upon the extent to which managers regard conflict as the dynamo of

change or a deflection from the delivery of services.

Superintendents and city managers face many of the same problems. In some cases there is great similarity in the way they view their problems, e.g., establishing workable relationships with their legislative bodies and responding to state and federal regulations. There are also instances where a common problem may be viewed quite differently by the superintendent and city manager, as in the case of collective bargaining.

The problem of establishing workable relationships with their legislative bodies was extremely important to both superintendents and city managers. Essentially, the superintendents' and city managers' abilities to perform a good job is highly dependent on the legislative bodies respecting the technical expertise of their appointed administration and providing them with some room to exert their leadership. Several superintendents and city managers related this imperative of estabishing a workable relationship with their legislative bodies. A few of the respondents had referred to this as the most important conflict situation they have encountered during their tenure. In these cases, the respondents felt that their predecessors had been ruled bytheir legislative bodies -- a situation that the respondents considered to be intolerable. Another respondent was in the midst of an election to determine possible abolishment of the council/manager governance model in favor of a council/strong mayor model. This respondent was glad to see this ballot measure occur, as it would settle the issue of the city manager's legitimacy as a city administrator.

Superintendents and city managers also shared similar views regarding state and federal regulations. Both commented that these regulations were too frequently established without providing the necessary funds or other

resources for their enactment. In addition, these regulations often reflected little understanding of the problems involved with their implementation. Too often, they appeared to have been created with much distance from the concrete problems and issues faced by particular school districts/cities. One superintendent informed us, "the legislatures pass an awful lot of legislation levying requirements on districts without good financial impact data. In addition, these mandated programs are often against the interest of the community."

Collective bargaining presented somewhat of a different problem to superintendents and city managers. Both superintendents and city managers generally saw collective bargaining as very problematic, disruptive, and harmful to the preferred state of intra-organizational harmonious relations. By and large collective bargaining was viewed as a tremendous nuisance to management concerns. But superintendents took the problem one step further than city managers. Collective bargaining disrupted the unified image of the educational personnel in the public eyes. In an age when the public was concerned about the costliness of education, collective bargaining negotiations, in their most intense form, create public awareness of the dirty linen in the school district's closet. In a milder context, it is an institutionalized conflict that is interruptive to educational hegemony.

In our theoretical discussion we stated that both superintendents and city managers are faced with conflict in their relations with the public and with the board or council. We further believed that although this has generally been the case for city managers, it was a relatively recent development for superintendents. However, fiscal constraints, declining

enrollments, affirmative action regulations, and the rise of collective bargaining have all been influential in increasing the amount of conflict in school districts. Table 16, on the following page, supports this contention. Very few superintendents or city managers expressed little or no conflict in their district or city.

Still open to exploration are policy implications. Although managers and superintendents experience roughly comparable rates of conflict with the community, the relative skill on the part of managers in conflict resolution may have reduced the proportion of those who report high conflict. Also, given the small size of the sample, it is unfeasible to engage in a complete analysis of effective conflict management as it is applied to the various categories of conflict. It is entirely possible that managers may be better at managing lateral conflict than subordinate conflict while the reverse may be true for superintendents.

Whether or not this is the case, it is true that managers report more conflict with their councils than superintendents do with their school boards. (See Table 17 on following page.) Boards appear to be more deferential than do councils, as we believed to be true from our theoretical discussion. Thus, whether or not they manage conflict laterally with some degree of success, managers confront the opportunity more often than do superintendents. Alternatively, superintendents may confront board conflict less often because they are better at managing it. Such questions as these, important as they are, must wait for a larger sample.

Service Delivery Characteristics

We are interested in the relationship between conflict management behavior and service delivery characteristics. As a major variable unit, we will examine service delivery characteristics along two dimensions: ser-

Table 16

Level of Conflict with Public for Superintendents and City Managers

	Level of Conflict with Public	
	Low	High
Superintendents	5	18
City Managers	2	10

Table 17

Level of Conflict with Board/Council for Superintendents and City Managers

	Level of Conflict with Board/Council		
	Not very much	Moderate	Great deal
Superintendents	7	9	7
City Managers	2	7	3

vice delivery potential and service provision effectiveness. Thus, the variable set is designed to include two dimensions--potential and effectiveness, or input and output.

Service delivery potential is viewed as the resources which are available for the delivery of essential services. Thus, service delivery potential is the ability of a governmental unit to provide essential services. The research question which addresses this variable dimension is:

Question 8: To what extent and in what ways does the adequacy of service delivery potential affect superintendents' and city managers' ability to manage conflict?

The reverse may also be asked:

Question 9: To what extent and in what ways do superintendents' and city managers' ability to manage conflict affect the adequacy of service delivery potential?

Service provision effectiveness represents the effectiveness of the service delivery efforts. The question to be answered here is:

Question 10: How much and in what ways does the effectiveness of service delivery account for variation in the conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers?

Again, the reverse is also pertinent:

Question 11: How much and in what ways does variation in the conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers account for service delivery effectiveness?

Since both superintendents and city managers are primarily responsible for the administration of service delivery in their respective domains, the question are important. A naive observer may readily assume that service delivery will be impeded when sustained conflict rages in a school district or municipality. This assumption corresponds to the tight coupling theory of organizational management which upholds that organizational confict and service delivery are inextricably related (Tucker and Zeigler, 1980;

Martin, 1962; Salisbury, 1967; Bridgeland and Thomas, 1979). Recently, however, a loose coupling theory has been put forward which directly challenges the notion that organizational conflict at the administrative level would deleteriously effect service delivery (Glassman, 1973; March and Olsen, 1975; Weick, 1976).

The tight coupling and loose coupling theories present divergent viewpoints for understanding the service delivery characteristics in relation to conflict management. While the tight coupling theory suggests that sustained conflict will inevitably have damaging effects on service delivery, the loose coupling theory leads us to believe that service delivery will not necessarily be damaged by the occurrence of conflict. Although this divergent viewpoint exists between the different type of coupling theories, there has been little empirical research to test whether the existence of conflict and variations in conflict management behavior do in fact relate to policy output (Hawley, 1977). As stated in an earlier paper (Zeigler, 1975, p. 13), "What we do not know is the relationship between variance in governing or influence structure and policy output." And, "we do not know if there are systematic variations in policy as a consequence of these variations." This same concern about the relevance of service delivery variables has been expressed by many others--Hawley (1977) in particular:

> There are at least two reasons why it seems important to begin a more concerted effort to document and understand the linkages between political processes and political outcomes. First, even if one is not interested in who benefits from politics, the relative neglect of the consequences of political processes and political behavior places significant limits on our explanations of why these processes and behaviors take the forms they do. Thus, political theories are less robust and more fragile than they could be. Second, inattention to political outcomes limits importantly the contributions political scientists can make to the development of a more just society, whatever one's definition might be of justice. (1977:320)

Furthermore, Hawley argues that we should learn "whether the great controversies (conflicts) of recent years...make much difference in the benefits (service delivery) children receive from attending schools" (1977: 330).

Revisions in the Service Delivery Characteristics Variable and other Secondary Data

We propose to approach service delivery characteristics with two subcategories of variables: service delivery potential and service provision effectiveness. Service delivery potential is characterized by the quantity of the level of services in a community. Service provision effectiveness addresses the quality of the available services in a community. Table 18 presents these variables and their operational definition for both cities and school districts.

We have made several changes in the service delivery characteristics variables. These changes are the result of our rethinking as to the utility of several variables as well as the result of the accessibility of data. The variables listed in the previous table represent all the variables we shall use to operationalize service delivery characteristics. All this data is accessible in school districts and cities, or at the level of state agencies. The remainder of this section will discuss the rationale for revision of the objective, or secondary, variables synthesized in the table in the methodology section, and a description of the variables we have chosen to use.

Previously we considered service delivery demand as part of the variables set to describe service delivery characteristics, but there is a great deal of overlap between the two dimensions. Thus, in the interest of clarity, we have modified this variable set to include only two dimensions

Table 18

Service Delivery Characteristics*

Variables	City Operational Definition	School District Operational Definition
Service delivery Potential	Fire/population Police/population Per capita expenditure on police, fire	Teachers/population % teachers with M.A. Average teacher's salary Teachers/students Per pupil expenditure
Service provision Effectiveness	Average police response time; fire response time Police/reported crimes Crime rate or index # arrests/# crimes	Average daily attendance; truancy rate Achievement test scores # of incidents of school violence # of expulsions

*Because of time constraints, all districts and cities did not report by our deadline; this is reflected in a slightly smaller sample size in subsequent tables using secondary data on service delivery characteristics.

-- potential and effectiveness, or input and output. We felt that per capita expenditures on police and fire should be moved into the service delivery potential category since the amount of money spent by a community for these services is clearly an indication of service delivery potential. Likewise, teachers/students and per pupil expenditures are indicators of the service delivery potential of a school district. We feel these changes help to clarify the usefulness of the variables and eliminate needless data duplication.

We have decided to keep police/population, fire/population, and per capita expenditures on police and fire as the variables to measure service delivery potential for cities. We feel it is necessary to use both fire and police because it is quite possible that use of only one indicator might not give an accurate picture of service delivery potential. For example, in some cities police services are a popular political tool. In order to get a better representation of the delivery of services it is necessary to consider both police and fire services.

Since we feel that police services and fire services can stand alone as proxy measures of service delivery potential we have dropped several other variables. These measures include street lights/miles of streets, library books/population, park and recreational acreage per population, and library staff/users. All of these variables were somewhat difficult to obtain and offer us no additional information regarding city service delivery potential.

We have made similar changes with regard to measures used to operationalize school district service delivery potential. Since schools are retrenching rather than expanding because of declining enrollments, lack of

classrooms is not a problem for most school districts. Thus, we have dropped classrooms/students and nontemporary classrooms/total classrooms as measures of service delivery potential.

The use of the percentage of teachers with master's degrees is a controversial measure. It has been argued when the pay increment for possession of a master's degree was first introduced, it was an adequate measure of productivity differences. However, the trend toward a majority of teachers obtaining advanced degrees has reduced the significance of this objective measure. Moreover, since some states require teachers to obtain master's degrees to earn permanent positions, the degree is no longer a signal of a particularly high level of motivation (Murnane, 1980). Others, most notably Bidwell and Kasarda, do not feel this is the case. In their 1975 study of school district organization and achievement they used the percentage of certificated staff holding the master's degree or better as an indicator of the qualifications of a district's teachers. They argue that the percent of certified staff with at least a master's degree is an excellent measure of the aggregate professional qualification of the teaching staff (Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975, p. 61). Additionally, statistics from the U.S. Department of Commerce (1979) do not support Murnane's conclusion regarding the number of teachers pursuing master's degrees. The data indicates that 35.9% of elementary teachers and 47% of secondary teachers hold at least a master's degree. In light of these findings we feel that the percent of teachers holding master's degrees is a suitable indicator of the service delivery potential of a school district.

Additional research concerning this variable reaffirms our belief in its utility. A telephone survey of five districts, ranging in size from 1100 students to over 500,000 students reveals that the range of percentage

of teachers with M.A. degrees varies substantially. Also, in our pilot study sites, and in the states selected for our larger study, there are not certification requirements specifying the M.A. degree. In some cases, specialized teachers are required to hold M.A. degrees, but this is an unusual exception to the rule. More often, school districts will require some form of special certification. (See accompanying chart.)

To supplement the number of teachers with master's degrees we have added average teacher's salary as an operational measure of service delivery potential. Average teacher's salary is an indicator of the level of education of teachers, experience, and quality of teaching. When combined with the percent of teachers holding master's degrees these measures provide an adequate measure of the quality of education.

The operational measures included under service provision effectiveness are designed to measure the delivery effectiveness of cities and school districts. We have made several changes in this category of measures. Frequency of trash collection has been dropped since police and fire related variables are adequate proxies of service delivery. Average police and fire response time and the crime rate or index have been kept because this information is easily obtained and are recognized by policy and fire officials as measures of effectiveness. We are aware that these measures are subject to criticism. Consequently, we have conducted intensive discussions with police, fire, and insurance officials, as well as research analysts regarding the adequacy of these measures. We have been advised to include the number of arrests/number of crimes committed as an additional measure of city service provision effectiveness. None of these variables in and of itself would be adequate, however, together these variables will

Figure 7:

SUMMARY OF DEGREE REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHERS IN SAMPLE OF STUDY SITES

DISTRICT LOCATION	ENROLLMENT	DEGREE REQUIRED	% WITH M.A.s
1. small city in Chicago area (Woodale)	1,100	B.A. only except for Specialized personnel e.g. Special Ed teachers, School Psychiatrists, etc.	15%
2. middle sized city in Oregon (Eugene)	21,000	B.A. even for Specialized Teachers	@45%
3. major metropolitan area in Oregon (Portland)	50,000+	B.A. only including Specialized Teachers	@45%
4. middle sized city in San Francisco Bay area (Santa Clara)	15,000	B.A. only for classroom teachers. Specialized Teachers must have additional certificates.	40%
5. major city in Los Angeles area (LA Unified)	584,000	B.A. only. Specialized Teachers need additional certificates.	33.1%

give us an indication of the level of service provision effectiveness.

After numerous consultations with education researchers in our pretest sites we have decided to drop the percent of students disciplined at least once as a measure of school service provision effectiveness. We have found that his information is not centrally available. The number of expulsions will be substituted for this measure because it is more accessible. Average daily attendance, achievement test scores, and number of incidents of school violence will all be kept as measures of school service provision effectiveness. These are system variables which are frequently used measures of education output. For example, Bidwell and Kasarda used reading and mathematical achievement as measures of school effectiveness.

While rather major revisions of the objective data measures were made concerning service delivery potential, revisions in the other categories were relatively minor, with the exception of the economic conditions variables. (Please refer to the Table 6 the methodology section for a convenient summary of the objective measures.) After discussions with economists and budget analysts in our pretest sites we have decided to drop all the economic conditions variables. Gross outstanding debt is not necessarily reflective of conflict management behavior. Rather, debt may indicate bonded debt or temporary cash flow problems. Additionally, some states impose limitations on debts. We are dropping total revenue and total expenditure because we consider the economic dimension of cities and school districts with some of the service delivery variables. Duplicating these variables would be a time consuming task which will provide little, if any, relevant information.

The structural characteristics category was the only other category to be revised. We decided to omit the variable concerning whether a city is

reformed or charter since we do not expect this variable to be related to variation in conflict management behavior. While other structural characteristics variables were left intact, our pretest in assessing the utility and accessibilty of data led us to shift our data collection strategy. Most of these variables are part of general records kept by school districts or cities. However, some variables may be the type of information that can be more accurately collected by communicating with key governmental personnel and community members than writing records. Thus, while we plan to collect much of this information by mail or phone, we will use both the interview phase and the ancillary interview phase as potential back-ups in our collection of secondary data, since we will have a better opportunity then to discuss these variables with knowledgeable parties.

We made similar revisions in our data collection strategies regarding the categories of conflict parameters and effects of conflict. While we had hoped to be able to collect data on these variables by mail prior to the interviews, we have learned through phone conversations with personnel at the pretest sites that such information would be more effeciently collected during the interview phase. As noted earlier, the 1980 census data will be available to local governments by spring, 1981. Therefore, demographic and socio-economic indicators can be more efficiently collected at this time.

Although it is not possible to present all the objective data relating to city service delivery, we have collected some of this data to determine its usefulness. A major assumption of this study is that the most effective conflict managers are also characterized by a high level of service delivery effectiveness. In order to test this assumption we created con-

tingency tables of the ratio of police to the number of crimes committed with the dependent variable. Tables 19 and 20 present the results. The data clearly support the above mentioned hypothesis. For both personality and style the most effective conflict managers are characterized by a high number of police to reported crimes. While it is clear that these results substantiate our assumptions, the more important finding is that the objective data can be obtained and is useful in testing the assumptions of this study. (See Tables 19 and 20 on following page.)

In order to further test the usefulness of the secondary data we related the level of conflict with the public and the council with the number of police to reported crimes. It is assumed that cities having a great deal of conflict between the public and/or council and the city will be characterized by a poor level of service delivery. The results presented in Tables 21 and 22 (on following page) support this hypothesis. Communities which have a great deal of conflict have a low number of police to the number of reported crimes. These early findings support the need to obtain objective data and test the relationships that exist between the secondary variables and conflict management behavior. We are aware that potential lag time may exist between the incidence of conflict and its effect.

The problem of lag time between conflict and its effects can be thought of as involving immediate effects and long term effects. For example, superintendent turnover is an immediate effect of conflict. However, the effect of such turnover upon service delivery is, obviously, problematic. It is certainly true that no immediate impact upon service delivery would be observed. However, if the conflict is of sufficient duration, one would anticipate that its effects will ultimately appear in service delivery. To

Table 19

Conflict Management Behavior Style
by Number Police/Reported Crimes

(by column) Police/Reported Crimes*

Style**	1 N = 3	2 N = 5	3 N = 3
1 (N = 2)	1	1	
2 (N = 4)	1	2	1
3 (N = 5)	1	2	2

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

Table 20

Conflict Management Behavior Personality
by Number Police/Reported Crimes

(by column) Police/Reported Crimes*

Style**	1 N = 3	2 N = 5	3 N = 3
1 (N = 3)	1	2	
2 (N = 1)			1
3 (N = 7)	2	3	2

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

Table 21

Level of Conflict with Public
by Number Police/Reported Crimes

(by column) Police/Reported Crimes*

Level of Conflict**	1 N = 3	2 N = 5	3 N = 3
1 (N = 1)			1
2 (N = 10)	3	5	2

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = low, 2 = high

Table 22

Level of Conflict with Council
by Number Police/Reported Crimes

(by column) Police/Reported Crimes*

Level of Conflict*	1 N = 3	2 N = 5	3 N = 3
1 (N = 1)			1
2 (N = 6)	1	3	2
3 (N - 4)	2	2	

* 1 - low, 2 = medium, 3 = high

return to the example above, if superintendent turnover become a virtual certainty due to rancorous conflict, then one would expect that turnover rates at lower professional levels would also result. A reputation for administrative instability may persuade qualified teachers to avoid the district, thus lowering the quality of the service. Even if such an assumption is inaccurate (that is, even if the effects are not so directly linked to administrative instability) it may be the case that an image of instability is created. In this case, Thomas's thesis that if men define a situation as real it is real in its consequences applies. Lag time also may mean that, when we enter a district, a previous conflict has impacted upon service delivery. For example, if a previous conflict over busing has resulted in an enrollment decline in excess of normal, the conflict may no longer be raging but its effects are still being felt. Although any research methodology is a partial "snapshot" of events, our interview schedules give ample opportunity for respondents to recall previous conflicts. If the conflict occured prior to the tenure of the current administrator, it will be more difficult to record, of course.

Lag time varies with the potential for the service delivery variable for immediate reaction. Long term declines in enrollment will be less immediate than, for example, a sudden decline in average daily attendance.

Finally, as we argue for an understanding of conflict management behavior as both a possible cause for decline in service delivery and as a response to such decline, the same caveats apply. Decline in quality of service may have occured at some point in the past but its impact upon management behavior may slow to develop.

These problems are not insurmountable as long as we understand that

they are complex and that time is a factor.

One should not assert that the relationship runs in one direction. That is, one should not argue that because managers are effective in managing conflict, and because low levels of conflict are associated with a high quality of service delivery, the manager is "causing" good service by good management. It may be true, of course, that a smoothly managed city encourages public support (financially) which in turn makes it possible to provide high quality service. However, an equally plausible argument can be made from the other direction. Because the city is able to afford a high quality of service delivery, the level of conflict (that is, the tension generated by the flow of events) is low. High levels of service delivery may be no more than a surrogate of the wealth of the community. With relatively greater resources, better service delivery can be accomplished and less conflict generated. More careful work, in which the economic base of the community is "controlled" or taken into account, is required. However, even this rudimentary table results in empty cells, so no further analysis is possible until a larger sample is produced.

The assumptions regarding service delivery and conflict management behavior are also reported for superintendents. We use average daily attendance and teaching load as two measures of school services. In order to test the relationships between these variables and conflict management behavior we ran crosstabs between these two variables and the dependent variable. The results presented in Tables 23 through 26 substantiate our hypothesis. School districts with the highest average daily attendance have superintendents with a high level of conflict management behavior effectiveness and an accomodating/collaborating personality.

Our interpretation of these findings, suggested by scholars with a

Table 23

Conflict Management Behavior Style
by Average Daily Attendance

(by column) Average DAily Attendance*

Style**	1 N = 7	2 N = 5	3 N = 8
1 (N = 5)	4	1	
2 (N = 8)	2	3	3
3 (N = 7)	1	1	5

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

Table 24

Conflict Management Personality
by Average DAily Attendance

(by column) Average Daily Attendance*

C.M Pers.**	1 N = 4	2 N = 6	3 N = 7
1 (n = 6)	2	3	1
2 (N = 3)	1	1	1
3 (N = 8)	1	2	5

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = avoiding/competitive, 2 = compromising, 3 = collaborative/
accommodating

Table 25

Conflict Management Behavior Style
by Teaching Load

(by column) Teaching Load*

Style**	1 N = 8	2 N = 5	3 N = 7
1 (N = 5)	1	3	1
2 (N = 8)	3	1	4
3 (N = 7)	4	1	2

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

Table 26

Conflict Management Behavior Personality
by Teaching Load

(by column) Teaching Load*

Personality**	1 N = 7	2 N = 4	3 N = 6
1 (N = 6)	1	3	2
2 (N = 3)	2	1	
3 (N = 8)	4		4

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = avoiding, 2 = compromising, 3 = collaborator/accomodating

public choice perspective, is that public perceptions of conflict, if the conflict is sustained, will lead to low attendance (clients "voting with their feet"). Since we are unable to engage in an analysis at this point of the duration of the conflict, this assertion cannot be substantiated. Again, more variables need to be taken into account. Is a high ADA associated with the class composition of the community? If so, does the relation still hold? If not, then it may be that ADA is more a function of class, or that low ADA reflects poor service delivery beyond the control of the superintendent.

Although public choice theories are not central to our research, we profited greatly from a seminar conducted for our staff by John Orbell, director of the Institute for Social Research, University of Oregon. Orbell's presentation (Dawes and Orbell, 1980) built upon the notion of exit as choice as originally proposed by Tiebout. Tiebout argued that choice of residence was influenced by the perception of service delivery variables (Tiebout, 1956). As refined by Hirschman (1970), Buchanan and Wagner (1970) and McGuire, (1972), the choice not to attend classes (or to leave the district), is the "exit" option. The traditional theory of exit allows a limited number of options. Assuming personal dissatisfaction, the client can do nothing, move away, or stay and attempt to influence policy. These options are obviously more feasible in metropolitan areas where different kinds of communities are available. Clearly white flight (although not exclusively related to school events) is an example of the exit option. The exit option, however, should not be confined to residential mobility. Moving out may not always be possible. Available empirical evidence suggests that higher status whites exercise both the exit and the "voice"

option (staying put and atttempting to influence policy) with the latter being somewhat more common. Lower status whites, unaccustomed to the voice option, will seek exit. Blacks face a difficult choice as they have little experience in participation and little opportunity for exit (Orbell and Uno, 1972). It is for these reasons that we included a less costly exit option, refusal to accept the services without leaving the site. Whatever the mode of exit, individual choice is likely to be influenced by "what he/she sees others as likely to do" (Dawes and Orbell, 1980). For these reasons, average daily attendance as well as enrollment decline are reasonable measures of service delivery.

Much of the same sort of caveats apply to the other measures of service delivery. Teaching load is an especially apt illustration. Although the relationship between teachers and students is far from clear, it is reasonable to assume a higher level of client satisfaction when teaching loads are light. Presumably more attention, more time on task, and other achievement raising possibilities exist with lower student/teacher ratios. It is true that effective management, superintendents who are accommodating/collaborating, and low teaching loads tend to coexist. The explanation is, once again, far from simple. Districts which are wealthy may be able to afford the luxury of light teaching loads and less conflict may be initiated; on the other hand, skillful managers may be able to keep public support at a level sufficiently high to afford such luxuries.

To further determine the utility of the secondary data we ran crosstabs of average daily attendance and teaching load with the level of conflict with the public and board. It was assumed that high levels of conflict would occur in school districts characterized by a poor level of education service delivery. The results presented in Tables 27 through 30 neither

Table 27

Level of Conflict with Public
by Average Daily Attendance

(by column) Average Daily Attendance*

Level of Conflict**	1 N = 7	2 N = 5	3 N = 8
1 (N = 4)		3	1
2 (N = 16)	7	2	7

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = low, 2 = high

Table 28

Level of Conflict with Board
by Average Daily Attendance

(by column) Average Daily Attendance*

Level of Conflict*	1 N = 7	2 N = 5	3 N = 8
1 (N = 6)	1	1	4
2 (N = 8)	2	3	3
3 (N = 6)	4	1	1

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high

Table 29

Level of Conflict with Public
by Teaching Load

(by column) Teaching Load*

Level of Conflict**	1 N = 8	2 N = 5	3 N = 7
1 (N = 4)		2	2
2 (N = 16)	8	3	5

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high
** 1 = low, 2 = high

Table 30

Level of Conflict with Board
by Teaching Load

(by column) Teaching Load

Level of Conflict*	1 N = 8	2 N = 5	3 N = 7
1 (N = 6)	3	2	1
2 (N = 8)	3	2	3
3 (N = 6)	2	1	3

* 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high

support nor refute this hypothesis. The data indicate that school districts with high teaching loads and low loads are usually likely to have conflict. Likewise, districts with high daily attendance and low daily attendance are likely to have conflict. This is an example of the need for more data before reaching any conclusions. We feel this demonstrates that further research with a large sample is needed so we can better explore this relationship.

It is our intention to collect data on the percent of teachers holding master's degrees to use as an objective measure of service delivery potential. Since this information was not kept at a centralized source we were unable to obtain it for each district in our pilot study. However, discussions with personnel supervisors indicated that given reasonable time allowance this data can be collected with no serious problems in the larger study.

Because we are still very much interested in the relationship between conflict management style and service delivery potential we used average teachers' salaries as a proxy measure. Since this data is readily accessible we will use it in the future in addition to the percent of teachers with a master's degree. Table 31 presents the results of the relationship between conflict management behavior style and average teachers' salaries. Our hypothesis states that higher average teachers' salaries are an indication of higher levels of delivery of educational services in school districts. We would, therefore, expect more effective superintendents to be in school districts with higher average teachers' salaries. The data are uncertain regarding our hypothesis. The reason for this finding is that we had a very limited range of salaries. The distinc-

tions were so low that the ranges we chose are not meaningful. In the sites we have chosen for later testing there will be more variation in average teachers' salaries. This data will be used to test our assumptions in the future. (See Table 31 on following page.)

Another objective measure of school service delivery potential is per pupil expenditure. We assume that school districts with higher per pupil expenditures have a higher quality of services. Our hypothesis contends that the more effective managers reside in districts with higher per pupil expenditure. The results in Table 32 demonstrate that this is not the case.

Coleman contends that per pupil expenditures do not affect student achievement. It is also possible that these expenditures do not affect or are not affected by conflict management behavior as well. Certainly these data show no relationships to either contradict or support Coleman's contention. However, the range of per pupil expenditures included in this data all fall in the middle range. In a larger survey we expect more variation in per pupil expenditure. This variation may show different relationships between per pupil expenditure and conflict management behavior. We feel that it is a relationship that needs to be examined.

It is clear that the link, if any, between conflict management behavior and service delivery will lead us to a more systematic set of policy related conclusions. The extremely limited nature of the findings is, for the moment, a problem. As managers perform at least two tasks, conflict management and service delivery (although much conflict management may stem from the flow of events surrounding service delivery), a further analysis will enable us to understand the relationship, if any, between the two. We are intrigued by several possibilities. If our initial findings here are borne out by more systematic data collection and analysis, then those who

Table 31

Conflict Management Behavior Style
by Average Teachers' Salaries

CMB Style with
Average Teachers' Salaries

	Low $15,750 1 (N = 5)	High $15,750 2 (N = 4)
1 (N = 2)	1	1
2 (N = 4)	2	2
3 (N = 3)	2	1

Table 32

Conflict Management Behavior Style
by Per Pupil Expenditure

Per Pupil Expenditure

CMB Style*	1 N = 7	2 N = 7	3 N = 6
1 (N = 5)	2	1	2
2 (N = 8)	3	3	2
3 (N = 7)	2	3	2

* 1 = least effective, 2 = moderately effective, 3 = most effective

believe that management of conflict, whatever its intrinsic merits, is important in enabling the school or city to deliver its services most efficiently will be given support. If, on the other hand, these relationships do not withstand more systematic analysis, then the intrinsic value of conflict management will be provided with documentation. There is obviously a complex relationship at play here.

In-depth Analysis

Conflict Management Behavior of a City Manager and Superintendent

Our pilot study efforts this year included pre-testing various modes of data collection. In addition to developing reliable sets of interview schedules, we conducted two in-depth analyses to see what additional information might be gained beyond that from sources previously described. We have selected one superintendent and one city manager for in-depth analysis. While these two more in-depth examinations tended to confirm our findings from the larger sample of the pilot study, they served to give examples of how a city manager and a superintendent managed conflictual issues. If generalization from a small sample is difficult, it is impossible to extract reliable generalizations from two in-depth analyses. However, it is important to understand why these two were selected. In examining the range of interviews, we selected those which most typified the differences between superintendents and managers. Another way of looking at these case studies is that each is, from our larger survey, typical of the management style of each group.

In-depth Analysis of a Superintendent

Beginning in October, 1979 the staff began the preparation of a case study of conflict in one district. Weekly trips were made. Interviews with administrators, school board members, active interest group leaders, and members of the media were conducted. The interviews ranged in length from

one half hour to three hours. A total of eleven trips were made and 17 discussions-interviews were held. Available documents, such as administrative reports, board minutes, report of interest groups, and the like, were collected and examined.

The conflict we focused upon began with a plan for busing desegregation, but it was clear from the beginning that the issue involved a more fundamental problem: the authority of the superintendent.

The district is predominantly white, but its black population is heavily concentrated in one section of town. Sixteen percent of the district's 51,000 students are black and ninety four percent are located in the same attendance area. At the beginning of our case study, the superintendent indicated that a major cause of conflict was uncertainty about legitimate decision-making authority. As a long tenured superintendent, he believed that he had, after a long period of uncertainty, developed a good understanding with the board, an understanding that both he and the board regarded as workable. He also indicated that desegregation was a major problem, and that the board could possibly become seriously divided.

The immediate problem was to develop a desegregation plan that would satisfy federal guidelines. The initial plan was developed by the superintendent and his staff, and agreed to by the existing board (two members, elected in April, 1979 indicated reservations but did not voice strenuous objections). As was the custom in the district, such a plan was viewed by the superintendent as the responsibility of the central office staff. The superintendent had developed a highly competent professional staff, one in which he took considerable pride. The feeling of mutual trust was returned. The superintendent was viewed by his staff,

and indeed by his colleagues within the state and nation, as a highly competent professional. The superintendent's goal was to avoid court ordered busing by developing a voluntary plan. The expectation was that a voluntary plan would satisfy the dominant white community while at least forestalling a threat of litigation by what, at the beginning of our case study, was a poorly organized and led black community.

The superintendent's basic plan was therefore one developed with intensive professional communication, but with little communication with board members or the black community. At the time the plan was being developed, the superintendent expressed fears that he would find it difficult to accept the consequences of a board that was "not sufficiently supportive". He had reference to two newly elected members who viewed the relationship between the board and the superintendent in a manner incompatible with those of the majority of the board and with the views of the superintendent. These members, who later would play a significant role in the escallation of conflict, indicated that it was the responsibility of the board, not the superintendent, to develop a busing plan. They spoke mostly about the issue at hand, but indicated a broad based concern that the board had become a "rubber stamp". At this point, however, the majority of the board did not propose to develop an alternate plan nor to engage in a discussion of the appropriate division of responsibility between the board and the superintendent.

The superintendent's plan was developed and presented to the board for future consideration. In the meantime, however, a significant change in board membership occurred. Two members retired. In anticipation of possible conflict with the black community over voluntary busing, the board appointed a prominent black academic to the board. This appointee

had not previously been associated with any nascent black response to busing and was viewed by the board as a possible link, trusted by both sides, who could assure smooth sailing for the superintendent's plan. The other appointee had been prominent in social welfare activities and had on occasion been critical of the extent to which the superintendent had not coordinated his plans with others potentially involved. The city council had also passed a resolution calling for more coordination between the city and the schools. These new members, therefore, did not begin their service with the assumption that the superintendent's plan was necessarily the most feasible one. (Note: in the interest of brevity, the details of the plan, and the alternatives which subsequently developed, will not be discussed. Rather, only points of major contention will be reported. In a full scale study, more substantive detail will be provided.)

The superintendent's fear of a loss of support on the board was well justified. By November 1979 the two new members not only indicated that the superintendent's plan was unacceptable, they also began meeting with black leaders to develop an alternative plan. These meetings were highly significant. First, the contact was made by board members, not the superintendent. Second, as the board and the black leaders began to work together, a sense of unity and organization developed. The Black United Front was organized, and served as a semi-official liason to the board members developing an alternative plan. In terms of conflict management, the superintendent perceived himself moving into a difficult position. Organized interest groups were developing, a portent of potentially unmanageable conflict. A basic strategy of conflict management is to individualize conflict. The superintendent was finding this impossible to achieve.

Even more serious was the presentation to the board in November, of an alternate plan, developed by the board's "desegregation committee", which differed markedly from that of the superintendent. Even more (irrespective of legality and custom) is expected to provide "educational leadership". Indeed, many job descriptions require that such leadership be provided. The willingness of the board to assume this responsibility was, irrespective of the differences between the two plans, a direct confrontation with the superintendent. The board member most responsible for developing the plan made it clear that his intention was to challenge the policy making authority of the superintendent. The superintendent was certainly aware of the intent. Therefore, the presentation of an alternative plan became the focal point of a conflict between the board, the black community, and the superintendent. The superintendent was supported by his professional staff, the teachers and principals involved not only in the schools targeted for busing, but throughout the district.

The conflict was becoming defined in the classic terms of "professionals vs. the public". The specific differences in the plans reflected well the underlying and emerging philosophical conflict. The superintendent's plan called for more busing of black students into white schools than the reverse. The desegregation committee's plan called for an equal proportion of busing to occur. While the exact proportions to be bused were certainly negotiable, the desegregation committee and the Black United Front argued--publicly and vehemently--that the excessive busing of black students indicated the superintendent's "insensitivity" and "unresponsiveness" to the black community. The superintendent argued, privately and without public discussion, that his plan would have the

least impact upon professional staff and thus the least disruptive influence upon staff conflict. He was clearly assessing the probability of staff conflict as opposed to community conflict. His decision represented not only his professional judgment about the best plan for busing, it also represented his estimate of probable conflict situations which would occur as a consequence of either decision. His calculation (which proved inaccurate) was that staff conflict would be more sustained and more difficult to manage than would board-community conflict. This estimate was based upon the fact that he had become accustomed to a supportive board and enjoyed the confidence of the city's business and professional elite.

The "professionals versus the public" component of the conflict was most seriously joined by the proposal of the desegregation committee that principals and teachers of the affected schools be interviewed, screened, and possibly selected, by a committee of parents in the attendance area. This was viewed by the superintendent, with the full support of central office and teaching professionals, as non-negotiable. Personnel is, typically, viewed by superintendents as a professional responsibility. The notion of parental participation in selection, while not without some modest precedent in other areas, was not considered seriously by the superintendent. Again, he placed his primary responsiveness to the professional staff which was strenuously opposed to parental participation in the selection of school personnel.

By December the lines of conflict had been publicly drawn. The two newly appointed board members found two allies in the two most recently elected members, all of whom opposed the superintendent's plan. The chairman of the board emerged as a swing vote. He was ambivalent, not so much about the merits of the two competing plans, but about the possible consequences of rejecting a proposal so strenuously supported by the professional staff of the district. The four members supporting the plan of the desegregation committee met regularly with the Black United Front and arranged for prominent civil rights leaders to address meetings of the Front, lending legitimacy to their efforts. In January a one day boycott by all black students was supported by the Front and was about 98 percent successful. The superintendent admitted to being surprised over the success of the boycott, but was now so firmly committed to the defense of his position that to modify his stance would make him appear, in his words, to be "bowing to groups which are destructive of public education".

The four members of the board who were working with the Front concluded that the issue could only be resolved by the firing of the superintendent. They indicated that in numerous meetings with the superintendent there was no evidence he would entertain any suggestion of compromise. In their view the superintendent was inviting a challenge to his authority, which, if he won, would reduce the probability of any future defeat of his desegregation program.

Whereas the four members were united in their support of the desegregation committee's plan, they were not united about firing the superintendent, an ambivalence the superintendent anticipated. Intense discussions between the four members revealed that three votes to fire the superintendent were certain, but one was not. This one uncertain member enjoyed the unique distinction of being the singular subject of an editorial in the daily newspaper urging her to disassociate herself from any vote to fire the superintendent. As the evaluations of the superintendent's performance proceeded, the issue was not confined to desegregation. Rather, the discussions focused upon the ability of the superintendent to adjust his behavior and become responsive to a board which was more anxious than has been customary to assert itself in a policy formation role. The superintendent enjoyed the fierce loyalty of the professional staff and was supported by the business community (as evidenced by the aforementioned editorial). However, the superintendent mentioned on several occasions that he feared a loss of influence on the part of the business community.

His fears proved justified. A meeting was scheduled with the intention of calling for a vote on the retention of the superintendent. The chairman of the board, within a few hours of this meeting, called a news conference announcing his support of the superintendent, hoping to influence the vote of the one reluctant member of the coalition. However, the vote to fire the superintendent, taken in April, was 4-3.

An interim superintendent was appointed and the discussion of the desegregation plan resumed. The superintendent's plan was now no longer at issue. Rather, the problem was one of working out the details of the plan of the desegregation committee. Members of this committee indicated that, had the previous superintendent revealed any willingness to compromise, he probably would have retained his job. It was not the plan, but the process, which led to his removal. The lessons were not lost on the interim superintendent. He promptly indicated an interest in meeting with the Front; he also implied some room for negotiation on the basic question of parental participation.

However, his comments generated substantial fear on the part of teachers and administrators. Thus the interim superintendent was as reluctant as his predecessor to agree to what was regarded as a reduction of professional authority.

The dismissal of the superintendent prompted leaders of the business community to begin a recall drive against the four members who voted to fire the superintendent. The recall effort, enjoying extraordinary financial support, has employed professional campaign managers. The Black United Front, in response, has begun a recall petition against the three members who voted to retain the superintendent.

There is still no desegregation plan. Several school board members have been meeting with the mayor and members of the city council to

generate community support for the plan when it is finally approved. These board members, alarmed by the extent to which the business community, through its recall efforts, indicated lack of faith in the board, fear they might be equally determined to oppose the desegregation plan. The support of the mayor is regarded as crucial, as his election was financed and supported by the business community. The mayor, however, is not willing to make a personal commitment.

It is probable that if the plan is not adopted and supported, court ordered busing will occur. As the desegregation committee's plan is essentially voluntary, it is hoped that mandated busing can be avoided; however, active elite support is required. It is this very elite which was alienated by the decision to remove the superintendent. The business community is uneasy with an active board working in cooperation with an organized minority interest group. As one would expect, black city council members are enthusiastic, as are those traditionally identified with liberal causes and lay participation. However, the fears of the business community, so well articulated by the mayor's refusal to lend his prestige to the effort, arejoined by the growing uneasiness among teachers and other professionals. It is not only the issue of parental participation in personnel selection (an issue almost certain to produce a strong negative response), rather it is the fear that policy is no longer in the hands of professionals.

The dilemma is well expressed by the hopes and frustrations of the two recall groups. The initial recall effort, to recall those who voted to fire the superintendent, was justified on the grounds that these members had been too responsive to "special interest groups" and had failed to honor the division of responsibility between board and superintendent.

The second recall effort, to recall those who had voted to retain the superintendent, was justified on the grounds that the superintendent and his supporters on the board has been "resistant to the Black United Front" and would not recognize it as a "legitimate" representative of the black community.

Thus the conflict has expanded both in scope and in terms of participants. Initially a minor conflict within the professional staff, it soon expanded to include previously inactive interest groups and a previously quiescent board. At this stage the conflict is linked to the traditional conflicts which divide the city, and the active participation of other governmental officials can be anticipated.

Those supporting the "professional" point of view believe the quality of education has been damaged irreparably. They believe teacher morale has declined, especially in the face of some apparent willingness to negotiate on the question of personnel selection. A majority of principals within the district are applying for positions elsewhere, as are nearly a majority of central office personnel. It remains to be seen, of course, whether or not such movement occurs, and whether it extends to the teaching staff (whose options are more constrained).

Also, yet to be ascertained, is the extent to which an expanded and continuous conflict will speed an already declining enrollment. The issue, the attendant conflict, and the ultimate resolution are far from settled.

In-depth Analysis of a City Manager

The in-depth analysis reported here involves a city of relative social homogeneity. It has a population of 100,000. There are major

problems identified by the city manager associated with the extraordinary growth of the city's population. It has doubled in size in the last decade. As the manager arrived about ten years ago, he is psychologically and emotionally attuned to growth, the regulation of growth, and the associated costs and benefits of each. Most of the conflicts he identifies, as well as most of the priorities on his agenda, are linked by him to a burgeoning population.

Specifically, he lists the following problems as posing the most serious conflict requiring his attention: (1) disagreement with county-wide planning agencies about appropriate planning goals (he emphasized that these disagreements are philosophical, not technical), (2) the need for a more stable tax base to provide adequate response to increasing demands for city services (he is personally committed to a city income tax), (3) the necessity for more control of individual behavior than is traditional in relatively small town western cities (due to the expanded population, he believes), and (4) the desireability of projecting an image consistent with the progressivism traditionally associated with the city (the specific example selected by the manager was a gay rights ordinance).

The manager's approach to these problems, his style, was consciously non-professional. Although he displayed for our staff a list of his policy priorities, and had distributed this document to the city council and mayor, the language of the document was tentative, non-technical, and inquisitive. It was in the tone of "how about this" rather than in the technological mode associated more closely with superintendents. When asked, he spoke

at some length about his association with schools of public policy and departments of management, political science and economics. He was proud of his academic associations, and not defensive about the fact that, like most managers, he did not have an advanced degree. When asked about his areas of expertise, he had a difficult time. Raising and rejecting a variety of topics, he finally concluded, "Possibly finance, but really not much more than general management." When probed about his meaning of general management, he was emphatic in disassociating himself from scientific management, rational planning, or any currently popular modes of conflict management. He pointed with pride to the fact that his office had never spent a dollar on consultants (except technical consultants such as those dealing with water pollution).

The issue of academic linkages, distrust of professional consultants, and a conscious emphasis upon his "seat of the pants" presentation of himself led us naturally to probe about the kinds of information he needed, and his sources of such information. On this point, he made a clear distinction between technical information and political information. Unlike his counterpart in the superintendents office, the manager had virtually no central office staff. There was an assistant city manager and some clerical help. Thus, he relied upon other components of the city government for technical information. That is, he dealt with the planning department, or the police department on a basis of equality. Nominally, the manager was the organizational superior. In fact, he chose not to interpret his position as one of superiority. His interaction with such departments was unscheduled; no regular staff meetings were held, and the information exchange was usually done over lunch.

For political information, he relied almost exclusively upon the city council. Again, unlike the superintendent, the manager dealt with a

category of information of an explicitly non-technical nature. He indicated that political information and technical information were equally important. The manner of the interaction was outlined in the way he developed his year-long agenda. This document was prepared in close collaboration with the council and the various department heads. Several items relatively high on the list of the manager never made it to the agenda because he was persuaded that they were politically unfeasible.

The manager's approach to the council was as low key as was his approach to various departments within the city bureaucracy. Although the council is elected and he serves at their pleasure (without, incidentally, a contract) he does not regard manager-council relations as a problem. Unlike the superintendent, conflict is seen by the manager as being substantive rather than procedural. That is, the distribution of authority is not a topic which generates conflict. Turf issues are conspicuously absent. The reason for this are related to the management style of the manager, and to the electoral structure of the council. Unlike school boards, they are elected from wards. Whereas superintendents regard ward elections as a hindrance in that they make it unlikely that the council can take a community wide view of policy, the manager regarded their ward base as an opportunity for him to gain some understanding of the distribution of opinions within the community. He relied upon the council to provide him with political information. Conceptually, he viewed the city as a combination of diverse neighborhoods with competing needs.

When discussing the council, he linked conflict not to an inherent tension between technology and democracy, but rather to the fact that,

as he put it, "their conflicts reflect their constituencies." This he regarded as an advantage in that "conflict is routine." The manager illustrated a major point of our study. To him (and we, of course can only report that he was typical of the city managers in our pretest), conflict management was routine because it emerged from, as he put it, "the flow of events." Superintendents occasionally lament that conflict management deflects them from tasks associated with rational management, i.e., with the delivery of services. The manager was emphatic in stressing that there is no such distinction. The job of managing a city is the job of managing conflict. There can be no deflection. His political style meant that he was relatively unconcerned about "non-negotiable" areas of policy. In our indepth interviews with superintendents, the notion of "non-negotiable" policies occured frequently. In the in-depth interview with a superintendent reported upon in this document, it was the idea that there was a non-negotiable area which led the superintendent into a serious dispute and ultimately into a virtually uncontrollable conflict. The manager could think of no non-negotiable areas. He would prefer, given the best of all possible worlds, that personnel decisions be within his exclusive domain. He pointed out, however, that this was not the case and that he had rescinded several personnel decisions. The example he gave was especially instructive. The city council, with strong support from feminist organizations, approved an affirmative action policy which actually exceeded federal requirements. The manager felt constrained, but, as he said, he "counted the votes and forgot it."

We believed this to be an especially crucial aspect of his management style and pressed further. Our experience with superintendents had attuned us to the notion of "acceptable losses." Superintendents will generally assert that, if they lose more than 5 percent of their policy proposals, they have incurred a vote of no confidence. On this point, the manager responded: "If I lose before the council, so what? I probably lose between 10 and 20 percent of the time, and sometimes I lose before I begin. It never even gets to a vote because I learn from various council members that there is no support. If you add in these defeats, I actually don't win nearly as often as does Dr------(the superintendent). I can't afford to link my ego to policy because I couldn't stand the stress. A loss is a loss; I live with them, and sometimes it turns out to be o.k."

We found, however, that his sanguine view of policy defeat created problems with some departments, especially the planning department, which felt he was too reluctant to assert the technical superiority of his information. Members of the planning staff were, on occasion, openly contemptuous of his approach. When asked about this problem, the manager was frank. He said that the planning staff had an imperfect view of the world. His exact words were, "planners view the world as though current problems are minor in competition with future goals. I view the world as more complex." Planners sought, unsuccessfully, to undermine manager-council relations by building alliances with council members more sympathetic to their goals. They were not often successful because the manager beat them to the council. It is not that the manager opposes the goals of the planner; rather he simply balances their goals against neighborhood aspirations.

The management style of the city manager can be seen in the resolution of the conflicts associated with his agenda, to which we now turn.

Disagreement about planning goals. As noted above, the manager was, as he put it, "cursed" with "zealots" from the planning staff who wanted to implement comprehensive land use planning to a degree comparable to that of a city many times larger than--------. Although the manager was hardly an opponent, he was the object of well organized anti-planning campaigns and could not lend his full support to those who advocated comprehensive planning. The opponents were led by a politically popular county commissioner. This commissioner had been elected with strong financial support from the building and real estate lobby. Although the commissioner was not an organizational superior of the manager, he was a political equal. Planning is coordinated between city and county. Initially, the commissioner had no allies. In the year prior to our study, however, he was joined on the commission by another commissioner with similar values and campaign support. Both of these commissioners indicated that they were "at war" with the planners. When asked about their relations with the city manager, they revealed that they were as well informed about him as he was about them. They described him as "basically a planning enthusiastic but also a realist." They concluded the interview by saying, "we can deal with him."

The managers views of these commissioners was less tolerant. Privately, he confided that he regarded them as "idiots," and implied that they were so beholden to the development and real estate lobby as to make them

"whores." (One was subsequently convicted of using his public office to benefit his partners in a real estate firm). Holding them in contempt, the manager nevertheless met with them regularly to try to negotiate a compromise plan which could gain the approval of the city council and the county commission.

This dispute will not be described in detail within this report. Instead, the main parameters of the competing positions will be presented, and the solution negotiated by the manager explained. The City Council had, in the manager's views, a "liberal" majority. This majority accepted the views of the city planning staff without serious challenge. The philosophy of the staff was as follows: growth should be concentrated in the central city and severely constrained in the outlying areas. Population density should be encouraged by multifamily dwellings, smaller lot size, and other devices to insure that the central city would be densely populated but "urban sprawl" would be avoided. The county has no argument about urban density; but the commissioners objected strongly to the "discrimination" against development beyond the city limits. As one city council member explained: "The county commissioners want to turn -------- into San Jose; we want to keep it like Davis."

The two positions attracted a high level of group support. Allied with the county were the developers; allied with the city were various coalitions of environmental groups. The manager emerged as the negotiator. He was generally afraid that the result of the conflict would be a substantial reduction of the commitment of the city to planned growth, a belief which he held with strong conviction. His compromise was ultimately accepted. Essentially, he proposed a relaxation of the urban density

solution. He recalled that a city council member had told him that her neighborhood regarded the urban density model as one which would "create a bucket of shit surrounded by a green pasture." This language made a deep impression upon him. It was crudely phrased lay opinion. However, the manager believed there was some truth in the argument. He persuaded the city planning staff to modify the urban density solution (specifically by prohibition of "panhandling" or building two houses on a single lot without access to both from the street). In exchange, he convinced the County Commission that any reduction of building lot size in rural areas would be economically risky. Thus a plan was adopted. Who won? The manager believed he did because planning was not defeated, only wounded. He was proud of his bargaining skills; more concerned with the process than with the solution. He also noted that his stature with the planning staff had improved (this notation was made with a considerable note of irony).

Financial issues. The city manager also described a dispute over taxes which focused upon the manager's conclusion that an income tax would be required to maintain an acceptable level of services and keep the credit rating of the city high. Major public funding of an arts complex had been approved by the voters, and the manager believed that the time was right to reduce reliance upon the property tax. He regards the property tax as more regressive than the income tax, even though corporations are heavily assessed. He personally prepared a proposal for an income tax to be considered by the city council. His technical advice came from university based economists. He believed strongly that the tax was necessary. Within a month, he had arranged meetings with major interest groups (principally from the business community) and had received assurances that they would support the tax if the council voted to place it

on the ballot (fiscal measures require voter approval in his state). His next task was to secure council approval. With the support of the business community, he did not anticipate a serious problem. However, the liberal majority, his allies on the planning issue, abandoned him. He met with them personally, and then arranged for more moderate council members to meet with them, but the results were not encouraging. After a weekend spent in trying to figure out whether the city really had to have a tax, he decided to abandon his efforts. In the next financial election, which did not contain an income tax proposal, voters approved a city budget generally in keeping with the level of services as recommended by the manager.

Law enforcement issues. The city manager also described his involvement in two issues related to law enforcement. First, there was, according to the police department, an increasing problem of violence in the downtown area. The matter was not high on the personal agenda of the manager, but was brought to his attention by the chief of police. The downtown area merchants had complained that because of the unsavory reputation of the area, even more business was being lost to shopping centers. The problem was viewed by the police department as largely one of "teenage vandalism." The downtown area mall was a center for drug traffic. Violence associated with this enterprise was on the increase. The proposal suggested to the manager was that the city prohibit the carrying of knives or other sharp objects. The manager was initially opposed to the idea, as he envisioned substantial enforcement problems. However, as the suggestion was made by the police department, he assumed that they were aware of implementation difficulties. Thus the manager

agreed to work with the department in order to prepare an ordinance for the consideration of the council. His first job was to secure the support of the American Civil Liberties Union, traditionally alert to potential enfringment upon civil liberties. The ACLU was regarded by the manager as a crucial support group, given the liberal majority on the council. The police department was not really on friendly terms with the ACLU but the manager was since he and the ACLU president attended several university sponsored workshops over the last year . The initial reaction of the ACLU was favorable. Although some constraints of individual freedom was involved, the ACLU did not really regard the freedom to inflict bodily harm as an issue of the same magnitude as traditional defense of the freedom of speech and assembly. Sportsmens groups, such as the local members of the National Rifle Association, found little reason to identify with, as they phrased it, "vagrants with switchblades." Local merchants wanted the ordinance prohibiting the carrying of knifes passed as soon as possible. The manager then discussed the matter with the liberal majority, including in his discussion the position of the ACLU. Assured of support, he turned his attention to technical details, came to the council with a proposal and secured unanimous endorsement.

The final issue described by the city manager involved requests for his support in securing a gay rights ordinance. This bothered the manager considerably. Not that he was especially opposed to gay rights, but he feared a conservative backlash. As mentioned, he had already angered some feminist groups. At the time the gay rights issue began to surface (at the policy initiation of the liberal majority in the council in coalition with various gay rights organizations and the ACLU), the manager was engaged

in drafting some more rigorous anti-prostitution legislation. Again, feminists were concerned. He did not want to anger both feminists and gays simultaneously. The merchants and the police were most anxious for strong anti-prostitution ordinances. The feminists began to meet with the gay rights groups concerning both types of legislation. The manager feared this coalition. He made a choice. He would work with the police and merchants on the prostitution issue. To make the implementation palatable to feminists, the manager suggested, and the police agreed, that "johns" (customers) be prosecuted along with prostitutes and that the names of the "johns" be published in local papers. The equal application of the law satisfied the feminists. Having committed himself here, the manager decided that the risks of involvement in the gay rights ordinance were too great. He decided to remain neutral. On this matter, the superintendent of schools took an active role in support of a gay rights ordinance. Although the council passed the ordinance, a conservative backlash led to a well organized and successful campaign for its repeal. The superintendent was thus associated with the unsuccessful gay rights ordinance but the manager was not.

As of this writing, the council has just completed an evaluation of the manager. Although the report is confidential and not available to the press, it does make specific mention of the city manager's "flexibility." The document was approved unanimously. The essence is that, while the city may be short handed in the acquisition of technical information, it is well managed. The recommendation is that the manager's staff be enlarged to improve its information gathering potential.

Interpretation of in-depth analysis

The superintendent dealt with a single conflict, or subsets of conflicts engaging the same participants. The manager dealt with a variety of unrelated conflicts. The superintendent relied upon professional advice and was not able to cope with political information, or bargain with hostile groups. Thus his behavior escalated the conflict. There were a number of points in the development of the conflict when he could have avoided the escalation of conflict; but to do so would have involved a sacrifice of professional values. Thus, he lost control of events. The manager placed less emphasis upon technical information, and more value upon political feasibility. Sometimes he "won" and sometimes he "lost," but events were never beyond his control. The manager seemed to experience less tension between professional values and political necessity.

These differences can be sharpened by a recapitulation of the relevant research questions addressed previously by the analysis of larger samples.

1. Conflict management behavior. Although both superintendent and city manager are described in these in-depth analyses in terms of specific conflict situations, the city manager did in fact spend more time managing conflict than did the superintendent. The superintendent was, obviously, engulfed and destroyed by conflict. However, this result was due to some extent to his reluctance to treat conflict as normal. Like most superintendents in our sample, he was buffered by a staff and less able to engage in proactive conflict detection. His consistent inability to correctly gauge the seriousness and scope of the conflict can be attributed to his insularity. He did not use the board to gather political intelligence and was on several occasions unable to anticipate conflict. His failure to interact informally with the board stands in sharp contrast to the practice

of the city manager.

2. Conflict Orientation. The superintendent relied heavily on deference to his expertise as a resource in conflict resolution. Preferring, as do most superintendents, a rational strategy for resolving disputes, he was regularly frustrated when such deference was not forthcoming. The city manager, more accustomed to conflict, entertained few illusions about rational problem solving and deference to expertise.

3. Conflict Management Behavior Style. The city manager was clearly more effective in resolving conflict than was the superintendent. In terms of our coding of effectiveness, the manager was classified as most effective and the superintendent as least effective. The manager engaged in anticipation, regulation or control, and minimization of hard feelings of affected parties. To a considerable extent, he was able to do so because he did not have a rigid set of professional requirements to follow; he felt less threatened by compromise. The degree to which managers deliver a variety of services certainly contributes to their effectiveness in that they develop effective management by on the job training. The manager under analysis here was quite forthcoming about his "seat of the pants" approach and his vague commitment to professional norms. Accordingly, he was clearly a collaborating/accomodating personality type. In contrast, the superintendent was the classic model of competing/avoiding behavior. Ironically, his competing/avoiding behavior is in direct contradiction to the rationale, step by step approach to conflict which he favored. He did not follow a rationale mode because he was too ego-invested. The manager, who professed no knowledge of standard "how to do it" theories, in practice resolved conflict rather rationally.

4. Public Involvement. The manager accepted group participation as part of the decision making process, and communicated with interest groups prior to proposing a policy. The superintendent regarded interest groups as a threat to his professional autonomy and would not traffic with them. He was emphatic in his insistence that his professional integrity would be compromised by regular interaction with organized groups. To the extent that groups did come to the attention of the superintendent, they did so as filtered through a buffering central office staff. The manager, lacking such a staff, was the direct negotiator with groups. Thus, the manager accepted groups as a legitimate part of the policy process while the superintendent did not.

5. Professional Status. On the various levels of professional commitment, such as the Hall scale, the manager and the superintendent differed dramatically. The superintendent was far more professionally committed, both in terms of education, professional activity, and attitude. It was our hypothesis that this professionalism was negatively related to effectiveness in conflict management behavior. As was the case in the examination of the larger sample, so it is the case that the hypothesis is supported by the in-depth analysis. The more professionally committed a person becomes, the less able is that person to manage conflict, especially lateral conflict. The amount of conflict each initially experienced was not markedly different. However, the inability of the superintendent to manage lateral conflict was in clear contrast to the success of the city manager.

V. Policy Implications

Introduction

While the reform movement attempted to make the task of managing the schools and cities a less political one, the increasing number of competing demands which are placed on city managers and superintendents may make the use of "political"skills more necessary for successful conflict management. Our research indicates that superintendents and city managers spend a substantial portion of their time managing conflict. While they may not have a formal role in the collective bargaining, they are involved in the process. In addition, state and federal legislatures, courts, and agencies have begun to assume a more active role in policy-making affecting educational and municipal governance. Local educational and municipal administrators may then be faced with a more complex task of managing conflicting demands.

Both educational and municipal decision makers are expected to face conflicting demands at the local level. Local interest groups may also oppose, or support the implementation of state and federal mandates. For example, a city manager might be confronted by a group of manufacturers using a river for the disposal of industrial wastes and by environmentalists who may also be supported by regulations from the Environmental Protection Agency. Similarly, superintendents will be faced by parent or citizen groups who may either favor or oppose a number of local, state, or federal programs. Parent involvement has been encouraged by federal programs such as Title I and P. L. 94-142. (Similarly, Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act states that the efficacy of an educational program

will be enhanced "when the school involves the people of that community in a program designed to fulfill their educational needs.") It remains an empirical question whether the existence of such parent groups helps the superintendent to implement federal programs or whether, instead, the mobilization of parent groups may result in an increased level of conflict, especially where, as with Title I and P. L. 94-142, two federal (and/or state) programs may prescribe different educational services for the same students (Birman et al., 1979). For city managers, the range of possible types of citizen groups is expanded. As noted in an earlier proposal, city managers may experience conflict with subordinate departments which draw on support from clientele groups (Truman, 1951; Zeigler, 1974). Consequently, conflict between two departments may be difficult for the city manager to resolve if support clientele groups become mobilized. We feel that there are sufficient similarities facing educational and municipal administrators regarding the management of conflicting demands that a comparison study is warranted.

Mintzberg, who compared superintendents to business executives, and offered suggestions about successful conflict management (but not, obviously about any linkage between policy and delivery of services, since he was comparing public and private management), is merely one of a long series of scholars who rely upon comparative analysis. Learning from the behavior of managers is another.

This tradition, which we continue, is based upon the assumption that the administrative function has a high degree of commonality over all types

of organizations. Hinderaker (1963), expressed his belief in a core of material common to business, public, and educational administration, a belief which had much to do with the Graduate School of Administration at the University of California at Irvine encompassing these three organizations.

The consequence of this commitment was a comparison of school administrators with private managers. Curiously, a comparison of public managers was not undertaken. The belief that public managers and private managers can learn from each other is understandable. However, the differences between public and private management are substantial. There are several critical features which raise questions about the transferability of knowledge. Indeed, we suggest that the effort to transfer knowledge from the public to the private sector and, especially, from the private to the public sector (a key ingredient, incidentally of the early reform movement), may be dysfunctional for the successful management of conflict. Public bureaucracies do not exist in a simple market system. Rather, they have characteristics of monopolies and they are dependent upon external organizations, usually elected bodies of laypersons, to provide them with funding. City managers and superintendents face this common problem; private managers do not.

One study, comparing public and private sector management, is especially instructive when we explore policy prescription. Using "risk propensity" as his dependent variable, Brown (1970) asked: do public school administrators and business administrators differ in their propensity for risk? If so, what organizational and personal variables also differ which might explain

the difference. Our study is conceptually similar: do school superintendents and city managers differ in their conflict management behavior? If so, what organizational and personal variables also differ which might explain the difference?

If there are personality variables, are they conditioned by professional socialization? If there are structural differences, are they amenable to modification? Since Brown was operating with an N of 63 (for business administrators) and 84 (for school administrators), he was able to offer some reliable conclusions. He found that managers in the private sector, as an occupational group, were significantly greater risk takers than were superintendents. He concluded that this was so even when demographic and personality variables were taken into account. Since we cannot perform a comparable exercize on such a small n, our conclusions are of necessity more subject to challenge and need further clarification. Brown made no inferences about risk taking and the ability to manage conflict. He did, however, reach a clear policy recommendation. As he valued risk taking, he suggested an approximation of a free market system for education.

We have undertaken a comparative study of the conflict management behavior of superintendents and city managers in order to see how the two groups might learn from each other. Over the past twenty-five years or so, superintendents have been relatively insulated from conflict in comparison with city managers who play a more active political role in dealing with competing interest groups. Consequently, we hypothesize that superintendents may be able to learn from city managers about how to be more effective managers of conflict. Historically, and in our pretest, superintendents

are more concerned with intra-organizational (or superordinate/subordinate) conflict than are managers. Skills useful in resolving such conflicts are not necessarily helpful in resolving lateral conflict, a task to which managers seem well attuned. Lateral conflict will, however, become more prevalent in school governance, and skills of a less technical nature will be required.

A comparison between superintendents and planners is apt for making this point. Planning staffs, like superintendents, are adherents to the ideology of avoiding political entanglements. In an effort to reduce the dominance of technical concerns, planning staffs are gradually being reorganized to make them more directly accountable to elected officials. The goal is to temper their professionalism with political sensitivity; to increase the kinds of information they are required to be cognizant of. As Long explains, if the structural changes work, they will force planners to "understand the politicians perspectives and incentives." (Long, 1977, p. 163.)

Superintendents in our small sample were more akin to planners than were managers. The high value they placed upon technology made them less sensitive to the range of community values as expressed in the political process. Thus, when they were engaged in the political process, they found conflict management more difficult than when the conflict was between professionals. This point is illustrated by our indepth analysis of a superintendent, as well as with the broader array of responses. Thus, comparative analysis between these experienced in lateral conflict

and those unaccustomed to it will aid in the conversion of destructive conflict into constructive conflict. If conflict can be institutionalized, made part of the normal process of educational governance, then it will become less of a deflection from service delivery.

Effects of Education and Training

City managers and superintendents are engaged in conflict management and the supervision of the delivery services. We noted in our theoretical introduction that there are two distinct approaches to these two tasks. Political scientists believe that conflict management is what governments do. Public management specialists tend to regard service delivery as hindered by uncontained conflict.

To some degree our data indicate that superintendents and city managers reflect these two view points. This is not to say, given our limited data, that managers uniformly take a more "political" view of management than do superintendents. However, we do suggest that they regard conflict as more normal. They are more willing to compromise, more aware of competing demands, than are superintendents. Are they "better" conflict managers? Who can say. What does emerge from our findings is that conflict does not deflect them as much as it does superintendents. As they do not make a clear distinction between management and service delivery supervision (in the apt phrase of one manager, "conflict emerges from the flow of events"), it is psychologically less draining for them to serve as an arbitrator. In this sense, managers are more in the traditional political mode than the technological mode which is characteristic of superintendents.

Structural Differences

An equally plausible notion about why city managers may be more effective managers of conflict than superintendents is that the structure of city government and school government are sufficiently different so as to make conflict management more common for the city managers. There are diverse services to deliver and city councils and bureaucracies are less differential than is the case in school governance. There are fewer buffers. Consequently the city managers may receive more "on-the-job" training in conflict management, since superintendents tend to be rather insulated by their larger central staff. Like city manager's informal meetings with department heads, a closer interaction between the superintendent and the principals in the district may provide the superintendent with more accurate information about the existing opinions, or potential reaction, of local citizens regarding educational policies or changes in policies. In addition, the creation of additional sources of political influence may improve the conflict management capabilities of the superintendent. The establishment of sub-district constituency units, the creation of permanent sub-committees around issue areas, or the provision of staff assistance to the school board may help to achieve this goal. In addition to making changes which would increase the ability of superintendents to anticipate and better manage conflict (i.e., better "on-the-job training" and availability of "political" information), some in-service workshops (i.e., regarding collective bargaining or implementation of state and federal policies) may help to sharpen the conflict management skills of superintendents and city managers.

Explanations for this are difficult based upon a small sample of interviews. One cannot assert with any degree of confidence that a single causal factor is at work. It is the professionalism of superintendents which makes them less willing to bargain? Possible so, since approximately one fourth of superintendents have doctorates, while very few city managers have as much formal education. Given a respectable sample, we can make more of the extent to which there is within group differences, as opposed to between group differences in education and thus become more precise. While our findings are preliminary, we suggest that there may be something in the professional intellectual baggage of superintendents which reduces their ability to manage conflict.

We caution that the small sample included in our pilot study prevents reliable generalizations. The case study and anectodal information provided to supplement this pilot study, while interesting, still leaves one puzzling about how to unravel it. As Simeon noted, "Case studies have a tendency not to focus upon the 'normal' but upon the unique, exotic, or important, so insights gained from them may actually be misleading." (R. Simeon, 1976, p. 55.) While our findings are inconclusive, they indicate that the professional training of superintendents may contribute to a more homogeneous set of expectations; to less tolerance of ambiguity and to a less process oriented management style than is true for city managers. We do not find managers with a fixed agenda as often as we find this to be the case among superintendents. Nor do we find that they have as broadly defined non-negotiable areas of policy.

Effects of Other Contextual Variables

Environmental conditions such as the size of the population and the socio-economic composition of the community may influence the ability of superintendents and city managers to effectively handle conflict. In addition, these contextual variables may influence what types of conflict management behaviors are more effective. As was noted earlier with regard to demographic and socio-economic characteristics, managers in communities with diverse populations may be more effective if they adopt a co-operative (i.e. compromising, accomodating, or collaborative) style of conflict management (Minar, 1966). In addition, conflicting demands from different constituencies may be more likely in areas with a higher population density than in more sparsely populated areas (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1978).

The service delivery potential and service provision effectiveness of the community may also affect the ability of superintendents or city managers to minimize unnecessary conflict. Our preliminary findings indicated that the effectiveness of the conflict management behavior of city managers and superintendents seemed to be positively related to service delivery characteristics such as the number of police per reported crime (for managers) and teacher/student ratios and average daily attendance rates (for superintendents). As our previously described models suggest, the direction of causality between service delivery characteristics and conflict management behavior remains to be determined. One thought is that an ineffective conflict management style may result in a decline of the level of service provision effectiveness. Another viewpoint is that low service delivery potential will reduce the ability of city managers and superintendents to

effectively manage conflict. A larger sample is needed before we can adequately analyze the threads of interaction between service delivery and effective conflict management. Given the increasing scarcity of financial resources for the provision of public services, this research issue seems to have important policy implications for future educational and municipal governance.

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APPENDIX A

Conflict Management Behavior Style

Anticipation

Determine range of potential disagreement between groups
Delegate c.m. tasks to staff members (use staff for community feedback)
Control information as best source (Press Releases)
Consult with individuals and/or groups making policy
Scheule public discussions
Timing sensitive issues
Publicizing city/school activities
Take on the other opinion--familiarize all points of view
Remedy any misunderstandings
Do not hurry into an issue
Visit teachers and students in classrooms
Establish formalized advisory councils
Maintain an open door
Administer and use surveys
Open relationships with professional groups (staff)
Be aware of power structures
Maintain visibility

Regulating Conflict (contain)

Bring disputing parties together privately
Try to find areas of agreement within the conflict
Create committee to study problem and make recommendations
Prioritize conflict to keep it from emerging into public
Contain conflict within staff
Delay decisions until support is found
Schedule public discussions
Publicize city/school activities (use media)
Diffuse conflict early in council/board meetings
Use an intermediary to develop consensus

Make sure all will support decision
Avoid emotions rising to block the issue
Move quickly and avoid delay
Be ready to say "No."
Employ consultants
Consider possibility of you being wrong
Delegate to staff
Stand firm, adhere to policy statements
Agree to disagree

Remove Remaining Hard Feelings

Provide solutions for all to respect
Engage in hand-offs and bargaining
Assert official authority
Keep government process as open as possible
Face saving advice for losing side
Take another shot at a higher level
Discuss why to those who feel bad about losing
Make the decision implementation equitable
Process problem in humanitarian manner
Take time after the conflict to allow healing
Do not dichotomize the issue as winner versus losers
Employ consultants
Remind people of common objectives to help kids
Establish study groups from all interested parties

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONS

The following is a summary of the questions included in each of the interview schedules. This summary records the question number, its former number or original source, and what the question purports to measure. Such information will be useful for understanding the revisions made in the interview schedule.

ORIGINAL INTERVIEW

Number	
1-2	Background of interest in career
3-4	Educational background
5-11M	Employment history
12-13	Attitude toward position
14	Knowledge of predecessor
15-20	Organizational involvement and professional activities
21-26	Source of information
27S-27M	Concern over various publics
28	Areas of responsibility
29	How to be effective with legislative body
30-32M	Rating various functions of job and legislative body
33-35	Major obstacles and areas of possible conflict
36-47	Meetings
48	Candidate selection
49-53	Impression of board/council members
54-60	Relationship with public
61-64	Relationship with government officials
65S-66M	Relationship with education-related interest groups/ municipal employee organizations
67-69	Relationship with community groups
70-72	Hours spent with legislative body
73	Various time expenditures
74	Most controversial matter
75	Existence of tension or conflict among constituents
76-79	Finances
80	Racial issues

Original Interview cont'd

Number	
81	Affirmative action
82	Collective bargaining
83	Strikes
84-85	State, federal, and local government regulations
86-88	Characterization of conflict
89	View of decision-making process
90	Professionalsim
91	Perception of role
92-93	Behavior in role
94-96	Political affiliation and assessment of strength
97	Children's education
98-99	Religious preference
100	Income
101	Residence
102	Race
103	Sex

PRACTICE INTERVIEW

Number	Former Number	
1	(27S)	Concern over various publics
2	(30S)	Rating various functions of job
3-7	(33-37)	Major obstacles Areas of possible conflict with public and/or board/council
8	(44)	Agenda planning
9	(50)	Conflict among board/council members
10	(52)	Board/council behavior
11	(53)	Board/council decision process
12	(54)	Relationship with public
13	(57)	Public participation
14-28	(58-71)	Relationship with public, government officials, education/municipal related groups, community groups, legislative body
29	(76)	Finances
30	(80)	Racial issues
31	(82)	Collective bargaining
32	(84)	State government regulations
33	(85)	Federal government regulations
34	(86)	Characterization of conflict
35	(87)	Sources of conflict

1st WAVE

Number	Former Number	
1	(--*)	Definition of conflict
2	(2)	Importance of functions
3	(3)	Obstacles
4	(4)	View of job compared to public's view
5	(5)	Acceptance of expertise by board/council
6	(8)	Agenda planning
7	(--**)	Opposition from school board
8	(13)	Public participation as groups or individuals
9	(14)	Time spent with various groups
10	(--*)	Helpfulness/harmfulness of public interest groups
11	(--***)	Discussion of most controversial conflict situation
12	(--*)	Non-negotiable issues
13	(--****)	Areas of tension among publics
14	(31)	Role in collective bargaining process
15	(32)	Relations with government officials
16	(33 & 34 as probe)	Characterization of conflict by specific groups
17	(*****)	(SCALE) Approach to decision-making process

* New question based on open-ended interview
** Original Interview #51
*** Original Interview #74
**** Original Interview #75
***** Original Interview #89

2nd WAVE

Number	Former Number	
1-3	(1*)	Definition of conflict
4	(9*)	Time spent with various groups both in general and in conflict situations
5-7	(4,5,7**)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the public, board/council, and professionals and administrators within the administration and conflict among these groups
8	(11)	Discussion of most controversial conflict situations
9	(13,14,15)	Problem areas for schools/cities
10	(14)	Role in collective bargaining
11	(6,12***)	Policy formation
12	(8)	Public participation as groups or individuals
13	(10)	Helpfulness/harmfulness of public interest groups
14	(6)	Agenda planning
15	(--****)	Major obstacle(s) faced in job

* plus additions based on responses from previous interviews
** plus Original Interview questions 54 and 55
*** plus Original Interview questions 59-66
**** Original Interview question 33

3rd WAVE

Number	Former Number	
1-3	(1-3)	Definition of conflict
4	(4)	Time spent with various groups both in general and in conflict situations
5-7	(5-7)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the public, board/council, and professionals, staff, and administrators with the administration, and conflict among these groups
8	(8)	Discussion of most controversial conflict situation
9	(9)	Problem areas for schools/cities
10	(10)	Role in collective bargaining
11	(--*)	General conflict management behavior
12	(12)	Public participation as groups or individuals
13	(13)	Helpfulness/harmfulness of public interest groups
14	(15)	Major obstacles faced in job

* New question based on open-ended interview

4th WAVE

Number	Former Number	
1-3	(1-3)	Definition of conflict
4	(4)	Time spent with various groups, both in general and in conflict situations
5-7	(5-7)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the public, board/council, and professionals, staff, and administrators within the administration, and conflict among these groups
8	(11)	General conflict management behavior
9	(11E)	Non-negotiable policy areas
10	(12)	Public participation as groups or individuals
11	(13)	Helpfulness/harmfulness of public interest groups
12	(8)	Discussion of most controversial conflict situation
13	(9)	Problem areas for schools/cities
14	(10)	Role in collective bargaining
15	(14)	Major obstacles faced in job

5th WAVE

Number	Former Number	
1-3	(1-3)	Definition of conflict
4	(4)	Time spent with various groups, both in general and in conflict situations
5	(5)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the public, and conflict with the public
6	(10)	Public participation as groups or individuals
7	(11)	Helpfulness/harmfulness of public interest groups
8	(6,11E)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the board/council and conflict within the board/council
9-11	(7)	Relationship between the superintendent/city manager and the professionals, staff, and administrators within the administration
12	(8)	General conflict management behavior
13	(12)	Discussion of most controversial conflict situation
14	(13)	Problem areas for schools/cities
15	(14)	Role in collective bargaining
16	(16)	Major obstacles faced in job

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

5th Wave

I. INTRODUCTION

1. A. When I first mention the word conflict what does it mean to you? (Probe -- If respondent restricts answer to individuals then ask, "Do you distinguish between various levels of conflict such as intra-organizational conflict, community conflict, etc.?")

2. Some people distinguish between different types of conflicts, e.g. avoidable/unavoidable; creative/destructive; necessary/unnecessary; healthy/unhealthy. Do you make such distinctions? Yes___ No___

   Under what conditions would conflict be "negative" (substitute "negative" for respondent's word choice)?

3. Could you estimate what percent of your time in an average work week you spend resolving conflict?

II. LEVELS OF CONFLICT

4. Various groups and organizations have an interest and/or role in influencing school policy. Here is a list of various groups and organizations. (Hand card.)
   (1) Members of the board
   (2) Community groups and individuals
   (3) Local government officials
   (4) State and federal government officials
   (5) Professionals and administrators within your own administration

   Here is a two part question which pertains to each of these groups:

   A. About how much of your time in an average work week do you spend with each of these groups?

      Great deal___ Moderate___ Little___

      (Follow up question A with question B for each of the groups.)

   B. Out of the ___ amount of time spent with ___ (groups 1-5), how much of that time is spent resolving conflict?

      Great deal___ Moderate___ Little___

	Great deal	Moderate	Little
(1) A.			
B.			
(2) A.			
B.			
(3) A.			
B.			
(4) A.			
B.			
(5) A.			
B.			

5. Are there any important differences between what you think the job of a school superintendent involves and the way the public sees it? (Public as defined by the respondent.)

   Yes___ No___

   A. Just what are these differences?

B. How often do you take a stand that the majority of the public seems to disagree with? Would you say this happens often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

C. Do you think that the public understands the positions you take on issues?

D. What are the areas of tension or conflict among people in the district on questions having to do with school policy?

6. A. Would you say that people around here participate in school as individuals or mostly as members of organizations?

___Individuals ___Why do you think it is that they don't organize?

___Both (ask both probes).

___Organizations ___What are the two or three organizations in this district that take the most interest in the school board and its policies? (Probe for extra-educational groups; ones that are not formally or informally affiliated with the educational process.)

B. Do you prefer to work with organizations or with individuals?

7. A. In general, do you view the participation of public interest groups as helpful or harmful?

(If harmful) Could you elaborate?

1((If helpful only) Are there ever any circumstances in which these groups may be harmful?

B. Do you take any measures to keep conflict at an individual level rather than than allow it to rise to the level of interest groups?

8. Are there any important differences between what you think the job of a school superintendent involves and the way the school board sees it? (School board refers to either the entire board or individual members.)

Yes___ No___

If yes: Just what are these differences?

If yes: B. How many members hold this different viewpoint? (Probes -- One? Two or more? Are they always the same people? Is it unpredictable?)

C. How often do you take a stand that the majority of the board seems to disagree with? Would you say this happens often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

D. Would you say that there is a lot of disagreement, a moderate amount, or not very much within the board?

A lot___ Moderate___ Not very much___

What would you say accounts for this?

What kinds of things do the members disagree about?

E. Are there any specific policy areas that you regard as strictly your responsibility? By that I mean areas that you don't consider it necessary or desirable to consult with the school board about.

Are there any policy areas that you wouldn't discuss with your professional staff?

We are also interested in the differences that exist between you and your staff.

9. A. What kinds of differences exist between you and your administrative staff?

B. How often does this type of conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

10. A. What kinds of things do you and your principals disagree about?

B. How often does this type of conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

11. A. What areas of disagreement exist between you and the teachers in this district?

B. How often does this type of conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

III. GENERAL MANAGEMENT STYLE

12. We'd like to turn to a more general discussion of your management style when conflict situations exist.

A. Some administrators try to anticipate conflict before it occurs. Are you able to do this?

If yes,

What kinds of things do you do to anticipate conflicts before they emerge? (Probes -- determine range of potential disagreement between groups; delegate conflict management tasks to staff members; control information as best source; consult with individuals and/or groups making policy.)

B. Assuming the conflict occurs, how is it possible to regulate or control? (Probes -- bring disputing parties together privately; try to find areas of agreement within the conflict; create committee to study problem and make recommendations; contain conflict within staff to resist expansion; delay decisions until support can be found.)

C. If attempts to contain conflict fail, what do you do to minimize remaining hard feelings? (Probes -- provide solutions for all to accept; engage in hand-offs and bargaining; assert your official authority.)

IV. SPECIFIC CONFLICT SITUATIONS

13. Consider the specific incidents that have caused conflict to occur during your tenure as a school superintendent. Now take the most important incident and discuss how you handled it.

(Probes -- Who did you meet with? Who initiated the meetings? Who were the principal parties involved? What strategies were discussed? What outcome did you desire? What was the resolution? Were you satisfied? Do you think this conflict could have been prevented?)

14. One reads and hears about other problems that affect schools such as affirmative action regulations, racial issues, financial matters, collective bargaining, state and federal interventions. Have any of these issues been a particular problem in your domain?

15. What role, either formally or informally, do you play in the negotiation process in collective bargaining?

(Probes -- Who sets the initial guidelines for negotiations -- you, you and the board, just the board? Who chooses the negotiator? Is full authority delegated to the negotiators or do you instruct, advise , or negotiate with the official negotiators? How much leeway are the negotiators given? On which issues is your opinion sought out?)

V. SUMMARY

16. We have discussed many issues today. What would you consider to be the major restraints you have in your efforts to do a good job in your district?

APPENDIX D City Managers

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

5th Wave

I. INTRODUCTION

1. A. When I first mention the word conflict what does it mean to you? (Probe -- If respondent restricts answer to individuals then ask, "Do you distinguish between various levels of conflict such as extra-organizational, community conflict, etc.?")

2. Some people distinguish between different types of conflicts, e.g. avoidable/unavoidable; creative/destructive; necessary/unnecessary; healthy/unhealthy. Do you make such distinctions? Yes____ No____

Under what conditions would conflict be "negative" (substitute "negative" for respondent's word choice)?

3. Could you estimate what percent of your time in an average work week you spend resolving conflict?

II. LEVELS OF CONFLICT

4. Various groups and organizations have an interest and/or role in influencing municipal policy. Here is a list of various groups and organizations. (Hand card.)
   (1) Members of the council
   (2) Community groups and individuals
   (3) Local government officials
   (4) State and federal government officials
   (5) Professionals and administrators within your own administration

   Here is a two part question which pertains to each of these groups.

   A. About how much of your time in an average work week do you spend with each of these groups?

      Great deal___ Moderate___ Little___

   B. Out of the ___ amount of time spent with ___ (groups 1-5), how much of that time is spent resolving conflict?

      Great deal___ Moderate___ Little___

	Great deal	Moderate	Little
(1)A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____
(2)A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____
(3)A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____
(4)A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____
(5)A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____

5. Are there any important differences between what you think the job of a city manager involves and the way the public sees it? (Public as defined by the respondent.)

   Yes___ No___

   A. Just what are these differences?

B. How often do you take a stand that the majority of the public seems to disagree with? Would you say this happens often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

___Often ___Sometimes ___Rarely ___Never

C. Do you think that the public understands the positions you take on issues?

D. What are the areas of tension or conflict among people in the city on questions having to do with municipal policy?

6. A. Would you say that people around here participate in city affairs as individuals or mostly as members of organizations?

___Individuals ___Why do you think it is that they don't organize?

___Both (Ask both probes.)

___Organizations ___What are the two or three organizations in this city that take the most interest in the city council and its policies? (Probe for extra-municipal groups; ones that are not formally or informally affiliated with the municipal process.)

B. Do you prefer to work with organizations or with individuals?

7. A. In general, do you view the participation of public interest groups as helpful or harmful?

(If harmful) Could you elaborate?

(If helpful only) Are there ever any circumstances in which these groups may be harmful?

B. Do you take any measures to keep conflict at an individual level rather than allow it to rise to the level of interest groups?

8. Are there any important differences between what you think the job of a city manager involves and the way the city council sees it? (City council refers to either the entire council or individual members.)

Yes____ No____

If yes: A. Just what are these differences?

If yes: B. How many members hold this different viewpoint? (Probes: One? Two or more? Are they always the same people? Is it unpredictable?)

C. How often do you take a stand that the majority of the council seems to disagree with? Would you say this happens often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

D. Would you way that there is a lot of disagreement, a moderate amount, or not very much within the council?

A lot___ Moderate___ Not very much___

What would you say accounts for this?

What kinds of things do the members disagree about?

E. Are there any specific policy areas that you regard as strictly your responsibility? By that I mean areas that you don't consider it necessary or desireable to consult with the city council about?

Are there any policy areas that you wouldn't discuss with your professional staff?

We are also interested in the differences that exist between you and your staff.

9. A. What kinds of differences exist between you and your administrative staff?

B. How often does such conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

10. A. What types of things do you and your department heads disagree about?

B. How often does this type of conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

11. A. What areas of disagreement exist between you and the city employees?

B. How often does this type of conflict occur?

Often___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ Never___

III. GENERAL MANAGEMENT STYLE

12. We'd like to turn to a more general discussion of your management style when conflict situations exist.

A. Some administrators try to anticipate conflict before it occurs. Are you able to do this?

If yes,

What kinds of things do you do to anticipate conflicts before they emerge? (Probes -- determine range of potential disagreement between groups; delegate conflict management tasks to staff members; control information as best source; consult with individuals and/or groups making policy.)

B. Assuming the conflict occurs, how is it possible to regulate or control it? (Probes -- bring disputing parties together privately; try to find areas of agreement within the conflict; create committee to study problem and make recommendations; contain conflict within staff to resist expansion; delay decisions until support can be found.)

C. If attempts to contain conflict fail, what do you do to minimize remaining hard feelings? (Probes -- provide solutions for all to accept; engage in hand-offs and bargaining; assert your official authority.)

IV. SPECIFIC CONFLICT SITUATIONS

13. Consider the specific incidents that have caused conflict to occur during your tenure as a city manager. Now take the most important incident and discuss how you handled it.

(Probes -- Who did you meet with? Who initiated the meetings? Who were the principal parties involved? What strategies were discussed? What outcome did you desire? What was the resolution? Were you satisfied? Do you think this conflict could have been prevented?)

14. One reads and hears about other problems that affect cities such as affirmative action regulations, racial issues, financial matters, collective bargaining, state and federal interventions. Have any of these issues been a particular problem in your domain?

15. What role, either formally or informally, do you play in the negotiation process in collective bargaining?

(Probes -- Who sets the initial guidelines for negotiations -- you, you and the board, just the board? Who chooses the negotiator? Is full authority delegated to the negotiators or do you instruct, advise, or negotiate with the official negotiators? How much leeway are the negotiators given? On which issues is your opinion sought out?)

V. SUMMARY

16. We have discussed many issues today. What would you consider to be the major restraints you have in your efforts to do a good job in your city?

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS

5th Wave

1. We'd like to begin by asking you a few questions about how you first became interested in education as a career. At what age did you decide to pursue educational administration as a career?

_____

_____

2. What colleges have you attended?

Name of Institution/ Location	Years Attended	Major Field	Degrees Received

3. How many years have you been superintendent in this district?

_____ Years

4. Before you became superintendent here were you employed in any other capacity by this school district?

_____ Yes _____ No

In what capacity and during what years was that?

	CAPACITY	FROM	TO
(1)	_____	19___	19___
(2)	_____	19___	19___
(3)	_____	19___	19___

5. Before you became superintendent here were you employed in another capacity by another school district?

_____ Yes _____ No

In what capacity, where, and during what years was that?

	CAPACITY	LOCATION	FROM	TO
(1)	_____		19___	19___
(2)	_____		19___	19___
(3)	_____		19___	19___

6. If you considered responding "Yes" to question #5:

Do you consider your current position a --

_____Big step up _____A moderate step up _____A moderate step down

_____Big step down _____About the same

7. Altogether, how many years have you been in educational administration?

_____Years

8. Have you considered leaving your present position?

_____Yes _____No

Would you leave the profession or would you become a superintendent somewhere else?

_____Leave _____Somewhere else

What would you do instead?

_____

_____

9. Do you think it is wise for a superintendent to remain in one school district for a time or is it a better policy to move to a new city periodically?

_____Remain _____Move

Why is that?

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. Do you happen to know why your predecessor left his/her position? (IF YES, SPECIFY.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. People differ quite a bit in how much they participate in organizations and groups. Would you circle the number of the statement which best describes your activity level during the past five years for each of the following?

			A Member		
		Not a Member	But not very active	Fairly active	Very active
a.	Church-connected groups like a church, men's club, or ladies society	1	2	3	4
b.	Lodges or fraternal organizations such as the Masons, Knights of Columbus, Elks, Eastern Star	1	2	3	4
c.	Service groups such as Lions, Rotary, or Kiwanis	1	2	3	4
d.	Business organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce	1	2	3	4
e.	Political clubs or organizations	1	2	3	4
f.	Groups concerned with civil rights or civil liberties	1	2	3	4
g.	Neighborhood clubs or associations	1	2	3	4
h.	Sports teams like bowling or baseball	1	2	3	4
i.	Informal clubs or groups like bridge clubs, poker clubs, or sewing circles	1	2	3	4
j.	Professional organizations, other than those connected with municipal administration	1	2	3	4
k.	Youth organizations such as Scouts	1	2	3	4

12. To which professional organizations do you belong? (DO NOT GO BEYOND FIVE.)

		Not Very Active	Fairly Active	Very Active
1.	_____	2	3	4
2.	_____	2	3	4
3.	_____	2	3	4
4.	_____	2	3	4
5.	_____	2	3	4

13. Is there anything else you care to mention about your professional activities?

_____

_____

_____

14. Where would you say you get most of your education information of a technical or professional nature?

_____

_____

_____

15. Are there any (other) periodicals specializing in education affairs you read regularly?

_____Yes _____No

Which ones are those?_____

_____

16. In the time since you received your last degree, or attended school full-time, how much further training, such as college or university courses, or professionally-sponsored seminars or workshops, have you participated in or conducted?

A. Courses	1-5	6-10	11 and more
B. Seminars or workshops	1-5	6-10	11 and more

17. Here are nine questions on the job of being a superintendent. Read each question and then decide which one of the four answers most closely describes how you feel -- do you strongly agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, or strongly disagree.

1. A superintendent should advocate major changes in school policies?

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

2. A superintendent should give a helping hand to good board members who are coming up for reelection.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __ strongly disagree

3. A superintendent should maintain a neutral stand on any issues on which the community is divided.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

4. A superintendent should consult with the board before drafting his/her own budget proposal.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __ strongly disagree

5. A superintendent should offer the board an opinion only when his/her opinion is requested.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

6. A superintendent should assume leadership in shaping school policies.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

7. A superintendent should encourage people whom he/she respects to run for the school board.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

8. A superintendent should act as an administrator and leave policy matters to the board.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

9. A superintendent should advocate policies to which important parts of the community may be hostile.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

18. The following questions are an attempt to measure certain aspects of what is commonly called "professionalism." The referent in the questions is your own profession. Each item, then, should be answered in light of the way you yourself both feel and behave as a member of your particular profession.

There are five possible responses to each item. If the item corresponds VERY WELL (VW) to your own attitudes and/or behavior, circle that response. If it corresponds WELL (W), POORLY (P), or VERY POORLY (VP), mark the appropriate response. The middle category (?) is designed to indicate an essentially neutral opinion about the item. We realize it is difficult for you to single out one preference for each item. However, please answer all items choosing the response that best reflects your opinion.

1.	I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work.	VW	W	?	P	VP
2.	My fellow professionals have a pretty good idea about other's competence.	VW	W	?	P	VP
3.	I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgment.	VW	W	?	P	VP
4.	I believe that the professional organization(s) should be supported.	VW	W	?	P	VP
5.	Some other occupations are actually more important to society than is mine.	VW	W	?	P	VP
6.	The professional organization doesn't really do too much for the average member.	VW	W	?	P	VP
7.	We really have no way of judging each other's competence.	VW	W	?	P	VP

8.	Although I would like to, I really don't read the journals too often.	VW	W	?	P	VP
9.	Most people would stay in the profession even if their incomes were reduced.	VW	W	?	P	VP
10.	My own decisions are subject to review.	VW	W	?	P	VP
11.	There is not much opportunity to judge how another person does his/her work.	VW	W	?	P	VP
12.	There are very few people who don't really believe in their work.	VW	W	?	P	VP

---

*These items from Hall's professionalism scale. Permission for use has not yet been obtained.

19. For the following statements, consider situations in which you find your wishes differing from those of another person. For each pair of statements, please circle the "A" or "B" statement which is most characteristic of your own behavior. We realize that it may be difficult to choose a response for some of the questions. However, please select the response that best describes your behavior. It is very important that you choose only <u>one</u> response for each question.

1. A. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.
   B. Rather than negotiate the things on which we disagree, I try to stress those things upon which we both agree.
2. A. I try to find a compromise solution.
   B. I attempt to deal with all of his/her and my concerns.
3. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
   B. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.
4. A. I try to find a compromise solution.
   B. I sometimes sacrifice my own wishes for the wishes of the other person.
5. A. I consistently seek the other's help in working out a solution.
   B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.
6. A. I try to avoid creating unpleasantness for myself.
   B. I try to win my position.
7. A. I try to postpone the issue until I have had some time to think it over.
   B. I give up some points in exchange for others.
8. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
   B. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
9. A. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.
   B. I make some effort to get my way.
10. A. I am firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I try to find a compromise solution.
11. A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
    B. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.
12. A. I sometimes avoid taking positions which would create controversy.
    B. I will let him/her have some of his/her positions if he/she lets me have some of mine.

13. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I press to get my points made.
14. A. I tell him/her my ideas and ask him/her for his/hers.
    B. I try to show him/her the logic and benefits of my position.
15. A. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.
    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid tensions.
16. A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.
    B. I try to convince the other person of the merits of my position.
17. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.
18. A. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him/her maintain his/her views.
    B. I will let him/her have some of his/her postions if he/she lets me have some of mine.
19. A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
    B. I try to postpone the issue until I have had some time to think it over.
20. A. I attempt to immediately work through out differences.
    B. I try to find a fair combination of gains and losses for both of us.
21. A. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.
    B. I always lean toward a direct discussion of the problem.
22. A. I try to find a position that is intermediate between his/hers and mine.
    B. I assert my wishes.
23. A. I am very often concerned with satisfying all our wishes.
    B. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.
24. A. If the other's position seems very important to him/her, I would try to meet his/her wishes.
    B. I try to get him/her to settle for a compromise.
25. A. I try to show him/her the logic and benefits of my position.
    B. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.
26. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I am nearly always concerned with satisfying all our wishes.
27. A. I sometimes avoid taking positions that would create controversy.
    B. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him/her maintain his/her views.
28. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I usually seek the other's help in working out a solution.
29. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.
30. A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.
    B. I always share the problem with the other person so that we can work it out.

---

*These items from the Thomas-Kelmann Conflict Mode Instrument. Permission for use has not yet been obtained.

20. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

_____

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT):

Would you call yourself a strong (R) (D) or not a very strong (R) (D)?

__strong Democrat __not very strong Democrat

__strong Republican __not very strong Republican

(IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER):

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

__Yes, Democrat __No, neither __Yes, Republican

21. What is your age? _____

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CITY MANAGERS
5th Wave

1. We'd like to begin by asking you a few questions about how you first became interested in city management as a career. At what age did you decide to go into city management as a career?

_____

_____

2. What colleges have you attended?

Name of Institution/ Location	Years Attended	Major Field	Degrees Received

3. How many years have you been city manager in this municipality?

_____Years

4. Before you became city manager here were you employed in any other capacity by this municipality?

_____Yes _____No

In what capactiy and during what years was that?

	CAPACITY	FROM	TO
(1)	_____	19___	19___
(2)	_____	19___	19___
(3)	_____	19___	19___

5. Before you bacame city manager here were you employed in another capacity by another municipality?

_____Yes _____No

In what capacity, where, and during what years was that?

	CAPACITY	LOCATION	FROM	TO
(1)	_____		19___	19___
(2)	_____		19___	19___
(3)	_____		19___	19___

6. If you considered responding "Yes" to question #5:

   Do you consider your current position a --

   _____Big step up _____A moderate step up _____A moderate step down

   _____Big step down _____About the same

7. Altogether, how many years have you been in municipal administration?

   _____Years

8. Have you considered leaving your present position?

   _____Yes _____No

   Would you leave the profession or would you become a city manager somewhere else?

   _____Leave _____Somewhere else

   What would you do instead?

   _____

9. Do you think it is wise for a city manager to remain in one city for a time or is it a better policy to move to a new city periodically?

   _____Remain _____Move

   Why is that?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. Do you happen to know why your predecessor left his/her position? (IF YES, SPECIFY.)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. People differ quite a bit in how much they participate in organizations and groups. Would you circle the number of the statement which best describes your activity level during the past five years for each of the following?

			A Member		
		Not a Member	But not very active	Fairly active	Very active
a.	Church-connected groups like a church, men's club, or ladies society	1	2	3	4
b.	Lodges or fraternal organizations such as the Masons, Knights of Columbus, Elks, Eastern Star	1	2	3	4
c.	Service groups such as Lions, Rotary, or Kiwanis	1	2	3	4
d.	Business organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce	1	2	3	4
e.	Political clubs or organizations	1	2	3	4
f.	Groups concerned with civil rights or civil liberties	1	2	3	4
g.	Neighborhood clubs or associations	1	2	3	4
h.	Sports teams like bowling or baseball	1	2	3	4
i.	Informal clubs or groups like bridge clubs, poker clubs, or sewing circles	1	2	3	4
j.	Professional organizations, other than those connected with municipal administration	1	2	3	4
k.	Youth organizations such as Scouts	1	2	3	4

12. To which professional organizations do you belong? (DO NOT GO BEYOND FIVE.)

		Not Very Active	Fairly Active	Very Active
1.	_____	2	3	4
2.	_____	2	3	4
3.	_____	2	3	4
4.	_____	2	3	4
5.	_____	2	3	4

13. Is there anything else you care to mention about your professional activities?

_____

_____

_____

14. Where would you say you get most of your city management information of a technical or professional nature?

_____

_____

_____

15. Are there any (other) periodicals specializing in municipal affairs you read regularly?

_____Yes _____No

Which ones are those?_____

_____

16. In the time since you received your last degree, or attended school full-time, how much further training, such as college or university courses, or professionally-sponsored seminars or workshops have you participated in or conducted?

A. Courses	1-5	6-10	11 and more
B. Seminars or workshops	1-5	6-10	11 and more

17. Here are nine questions on the job of being a city manager. Read each question and then decide which one of the four answers most closely describes how you feel -- do you strongly agree, tend to agree, strongly disagree, or tend to disagree?

1. A city manager should advocate major changes in city policies?

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

2. A city manager should give a helping hand to good councilmen who are coming up for reelection.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

3. A city manager should maintain a neutral stand on any issues on which the community is divided.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

4. A city manager should consult with the board before drafting his/her own budget proposal.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

5. A city manager should offer the board an opinion only when his/her opinion is requested.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

6. A city manager should assume leadership in shaping municipal policies.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

7. A city manager should encourage people whom he/she respects to run for the city council.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

8. A city manager should act as an administrator and leave policy matters to the council.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

9. A city manager should advocate policies to which important parts of the community may be hostile.

__strongly agree __tend to agree __tend to disagree __strongly disagree

10. The following questions are an attempt to measure certain aspects of what is commonly called "professionalism." The referent in the questions is your own profession. Each item, then, should be answered in light of the way you yourself both feel and behave as a member of your particular profession.

There are five possible responses to each item. If the item corresponds VERY WELL (VW) to your own attitudes and/or behavior, circle that response. If it corresponds WELL (W), POORLY (P), or VERY POORLY (VP), mark the appropriate response. The middle category (?) is designed to indicate an essentially neutral opinion about the item. We realize it is difficult for you to single out one preference for each item. However, please answer all items choosing the response that best reflects your opinion.

1.	I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work.	VW	W	?	P	VP
2.	My fellow professionals have a pretty good idea about other's competence.	VW	W	?	P	VP
3.	I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgment.	VW	W	?	P	VP
4.	I believe that the professional organization(s) should be supported.	VW	W	?	P	VP
5.	Some other occupations are actually more important to society than mine is.	VW	W	?	P	VP

6.	The professional organization doesn't really do too much for the average member.	VW	W	?	P	VP
7.	We really have no way of judging each other's competence.	VW	W	?	P	VP
8.	Although I would like to, I really don't read the journals too often.	VW	W	?	P	VP
9.	Most people would stay in the profession even if their incomes were reduced.	VW	W	?	P	VP
10.	My own decisions are subject to review.	VW	W	?	P	VP
11.	There is not much opportunity to judge how another person does his/her work.	VW	W	?	P	VP
12.	There are very few people who don't really believe in their work.	VW	W	?	P	VP

*These items from Hall's professionalism scale. Permission for use has not yet been obtained.

19. For the following statements, consider situations in which you find your wishes differing from those of another person. For each pair of statements, please circle the "A" or "B"statement which is most characteristic of your own behavior. We realize that it may be difficult to choose a response for some the questions. However, please select the response that best describes your behavior. It is very important that you choose only one response for each question.

1. A. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.
   B. Rather than negotiate the things on which we disagree, I try to stress those things upon which we both agree.
2. A. I try to find a compromise solution.
   B. I attempt to deal with all of his/her and my concerns.
3. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
   B. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.
4. A. I try to find a compromise solution.
   B. I sometimes sacrifice my own wishes for the wishes of the other person.
5. A. I consistently seek the other's help in working out a solution.
   B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.
6. A. I try to avoid creating unpleasantness for myself.
   B. I try to win my position.
7. A. I try to postpone the issue until I have had some time to think it over.
   B. I give up some points in exchange for others.
8. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
   B. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
9. A. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.
   B. I make some effort to get my way.
10. A. I am firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I try to find a compromise solution.
11. A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
    B. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.

12. A. I sometimes avoid taking position which would create controversy.
    B. I will let him/her have some of his/her positions if he/she lets me have some of mine.
13. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I press to get my points made.
14. A. I tell him/her my ideas and ask him/her for his/hers.
    B. I try to show him/her the logic and benefits of my position.
15. A. I might try to soothe the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.
    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid tensions.
16. A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.
    B. I try to convince the other person of the merits of my position.
17. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.
18. A. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him/her maintain his/her views.
    B. I will let him/her have some of his/her positions if he/she lets me have some of mine.
19. A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.
    B. I try to postpone the issue until I have had some time to think it over.
20. A. I attempt to immediately work through our differences.
    B. I try to find a fair combination of gains and losses for both of us.
21. A. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.
    B. I always lean toward a direct discussion of the problem.
22. A. I try to find a position that is intermediate between his/hers and mine.
    B. I assert my wishes.
23. A. I am very often concerned with satisfying all our wishes.
    B. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.
24. A. If the other's position seems very important to him/her, I would try to meet his/her wishes.
    B. I try to get him/her to settle for a compromise.
25. A. I try to show him/her the logic and benefits of my position.
    B. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.
26. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I am nearly always concerned with satisfying all our wishes.
27. A. I sometimes avoid taking positions that would create controversy.
    B. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him/her maintain his/her views.
28. A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.
    B. I usually seek the other's help in working out a solution.
29. A. I propose a middle ground.
    B. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.
30. A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.
    B. I always share the problem with the other person so that we can work it out.

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*These items from the Thomas-Kelmann Conflict Mode Instrument. Permission for use has not yet been obtained.

20. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT):

Would you call yourself a strong (R) (D) or not a very strong (R) (D)?

__strong Democrat __not very strong Democrat

__strong Republican __not very strong Republican

(IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER):

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

__Yes, Democrat __No, neither __Yes, Republican

21. What is your age? _____

Appendix G

Ancillary Interview

1. What are the areas of tension or conflict among people in the district/city on questions having to do with school/municipal policy?

2. Consider the specific incidents that have caused conflict to occur during the superintendent's/city manager's tenure in the district/city. Now take the most important incident and discuss how the superintendent/city manager handled it.

3. One reads and hears about other problems affecting schools such as affirmative action regulations, racial tension, financial matters, collective bargaining, state and federal intervention. Have any of these issues been a particular problem in this district/city?

4. How strongly would you say you approve or disapprove of the way the superintendent/city manager is handling his/her job?

strong approval	mild approval	no opinion	mild disapproval	strong disapproval

(Probe to be developed.)

5. How would you characterize the amount of conflict in this district/city?

great deal moderate little